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ABSTRACT

This collection of papers describes exemplary programs in teacher education that attempt to address issues of diversity and the achievement gap between different groups of students. After "Introduction: Teacher Preparation for Diverse Settings," (Dennis M. McInerney and Shawn Van Etten), the 10 papers are: (1) "Can Teacher Education Close the Achievement Gap?" (Martin Haberman); (2) "Practice Matters: Reflections on the Importance of Teacher Educators' Practice" (Jennifer A. Whitcomb); (3) "Standards in American Indian/Alaskan Native Education: Preparing Native and Non-Native Teachers for Variable Contexts" (Denis Viri); (4) "Partnership and Partnership Change in Teacher Education" (Elwyn Thomas); (5) "Hopi Teachers for Hopi Schools: Collaborating to Seed Educational Change" (Carolyne J. White, Diane Nuvayouma, and Harvey Paymella); (6) "Making Teaching Cultures Visible: The Value of Comparative Research" (Kathryn M. Anderson-Levitt); (7) "Training Jewish and Arab School Counselors in Israel: Exploring a Professional Identity in a Conflicted Society" (Hanoch Flum and Avi Kaplan); (8) "Shaping a Glad Tomorrow: Mandatory Indigenous Studies Teacher Education Courses as an International Educational Priority!" (Rhonda G. Craven); (9) "Self-Regulated Learning and the Use of Information and Communications Technology in Norwegian Teacher Education" (Ivar Braten, Helge I. Stromso, and Bodil S. Olaussen); and (10) "Teacher Development through Communities of Learning" (Richard Walker). (Papers contain references.) (SM)

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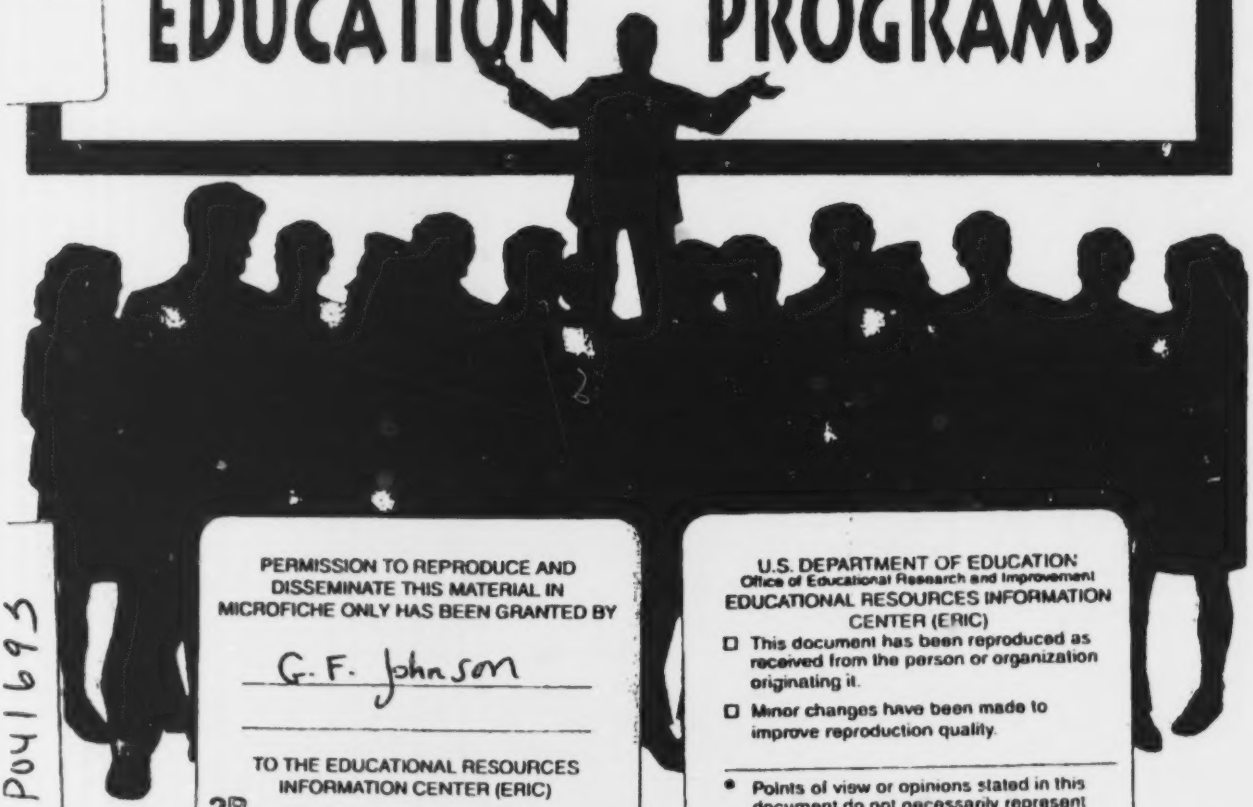

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SHAWN VAN ETTEN

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VOLUME 3 IN: RESEARCH ON SOCIOCULTURAL INFLUENCES ON MOTIVATION AND LEARNING

Sociocultural Influences and Teacher Education Programs

Volume 3 in
Research on Sociocultural Influences on Motivation and Learning

3

SOCIOCULTURAL INFLUENCES AND TEACHER EDUCATION PROGRAMS

Edited by

Dennis M. McInerney
and
Shawn Van Etten

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INTRODUCTION

TEACHER PREPARATION FOR DIVERSE SETTINGS

Dennis M McInerney and Shawn Van Etten

The educational environment today is characterized by heightened unease within the teaching profession, indicated by general dissatisfaction, low morale and increased resignation rates, and less willingness by tertiary students to consider teaching as a career of first choice. A number of elements have interacted to produce an impetus to improve teacher quality: the perceived need to renovate school organization and curriculum offerings to make schooling more relevant and responsive to community and national needs; the desire to make educational outputs more efficient in terms of financial inputs; the need to make teaching a more respected and attractive career to attract talented personnel; and the need to address excellence and equity issues across the broad scope of educational environments.

Teachers' work over the past 20 years has changed, becoming more complex, and in many cases, more difficult. This has resulted from, first, changes to the make-up of the student population, in particular dramatically increased ethnic and language diversity, increased retention rates at the upper secondary level, and the integration of students with disabilities. Second, there has been a dramatic expansion of professional tasks and the adoption or assignment of more responsibility for handling individual or

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broader social problems. These responsibilities and tasks combined with the implementation of wider curricula, increased use of technology, increased responsibility of assessment, evaluation and outcomes, increased participation in school management, and more substantial parental involvement have made the teacher's task very complex.

Changed social roles and conditions have resulted in a whole new set of tasks with which the teacher must be concerned. Schools in the past were organized on assumptions about society and the family and its work patterns, which have now changed dramatically. This is particularly the result of the increasing participation of mothers in formal paid work. Other sociocultural changes such as increasing single parenting, two working parents, changes in family structures (such as house fathers), changes in societal norms and values, increasing access of children to media and technology and the heterogeneous moral and religious values held by the parents and children served by school, have all impacted on schools and new demands have been placed on teachers. Furthermore, there is an assumption that education in a formal setting can resolve or help to resolve a great many social problems, and so schools and teachers have become increasingly charged with responsibilities for drug and sex education, road safety and driver education, smoking, delinquency, and so on.

Much is expected today of schools and teachers in regard to the socialization of children, which is increasingly problematic in societies characterized by cultural, religious, economic, and political diversity. The expectation that teachers and schools should be responsible for this myriad of social issues is perhaps an unreasonable burden, but one that teachers must confront. Obviously to confront successfully such challenges teachers must be well trained through their teacher preparation programs.

In this volume we describe exemplary programs in teacher education that attempt to address some of the issues alluded to above. Our authors address theoretical perspectives on the importance of teacher education for improving educational outcomes; the achievement gap between different groups and in particular the significant achievement gap between indigenous students and other minorities and mainstream groups, and how this might be overcome by better trained teachers; and how teachers learn to be effective teachers and are these skills of effective teaching broadly applicable across all educational environments?

Martin Haberman (Chapter 1) describes the achievement gap as a natural consequence of two assumptions: public education is a personal rather than a common good and high quality education is a scarce resource. Martin makes the argument that while total urban districts cannot be transformed into successful ones, individual failing schools can be made effective by utilizing a new form of teacher education. Ten elements of this teacher education are offered. Basic questions: Who should teach? What should they be prepared to do? How should these teachers be evaluated? are answered in the context of turning failing schools into effective ones.

According to Haberman the essential elements that make teacher education an effective change strategy involve selection, mentoring, and the use of children's learning in evaluating trainee's success. This new form of teacher education focuses on preparing effective teachers who can succeed in failing districts as they now are and is not predicated on failing districts first improving their conditions of work. Many links can be drawn between the material presented in this chapter and later chapters that discuss specific teacher education programs and research.

Jennie Whitcomb (Chapter 2) is intrigued by the overarching question of how individuals learn to teach. In her chapter she sets out to reflect upon the role teacher educator's practice plays in learning to teach. She argues that teacher educator's practice, if done well, has a significant impact on teacher candidate's learning because it embodies the integration of theory and practice, provides a vision of the possible, and inspires teacher candidates. To take up an examination of teacher educator's practice, Jennie first reviews several significant conceptualizations of practice and theory in teacher education. Second, she outlines four aspects of teacher educator's practice that matter. In the final section, Jennie suggests how thoughtful attention to teacher educator's practice creates a pathway to reform in teacher education.

Although the education of American Indians/Alaska Natives has historically been a federal responsibility, 90 percent of Native children and youth now attend public schools in the United States. Almost half of Native public school children attend schools where they constitute 10 percent or less of the school population. Although federal policy currently promotes increasing the numbers of Native teachers to teach Native children, the reality of demographics suggest that many Native children will not benefit from the effects of this policy. Denis Veri (Chapter 3) argues that in order to be effective teacher training programs need to align themselves with changing realities in American Indian/Alaska education and other demographic trends. During the past 25 years, many Native communities have taken control of schools serving their children. Therefore, professional development for Native teachers needs to be more specialized and focused in support of language and cultural renewal, and theoretically guided by concepts of community-based education. Non-Native teachers who will teach American Indian/Alaska Native children—even very small populations—need similar training but with a greater emphasis on fostering community involvement and facilitating the alignment of the dynamics and processes of school culture with that of the community. Denis describes how The Center for Research on Education, Diversity, and Excellence (CREDE) has recently promulgated Five Standards of Effective Pedagogy that can serve as effective guiding themes in teacher preparation programs. The Standards are based upon research on teaching strategies known to be effective not only with Native American/Alaska Native students but other "at risk" students. They were distilled from findings by edu-

cational researchers working with students considered "at risk" of educational failure due to cultural, language, racial, geographic, or economic factors. As the Standards are incorporated into professional development and later applied in Native communities by teachers, many of the aims of reform efforts in American Indian/Alaska Native education will be realized. Denis argues that insofar as the implementation of the Standards is also a most promising direction for all schools serving diverse populations, even those Native children and youth enrolled in schools where they are a small minority and no access to Native teachers will enjoy enhanced educational opportunities and benefits. Veri's thoughts should be compared with those of White et al (Chapter 5) and Craven (Chapter 8). The importance of partnerships can also be related to the theme in the Chapter by Thomas (Chapter 4).

Chapter 4 is about partnership and partnership change in teacher education in a number of Western and Asian countries, in which Elwyn Thomas has had experience as a teacher educator and/or as an international consultant. As Elwyn describes it, partnership in teacher education is not a new notion, but the changing perceptions and expectations of teachers and their trainers by government, parents, the community, and especially the workplace in the context of global economic change, have meant that former modes of training teachers are becoming outdated and irrelevant. Elwyn's chapter examines the reasons for partnership change in training teachers, mainly at the pre-service level, and then explores background factors that may need to be assessed before a change can be initiated. From the experience gained in a number of countries it is clear that there are different partnership models on offer. However, Elwyn believes, it is necessary to examine the local context before a choice is made as to which model or hybrid would fit a specific situation. While the reasons for change and an assessment of the most appropriate form of partnership model is crucial, a key indicator of a successful partnership will be how each stakeholder (i.e., teachers, trainers, trainees, and administrators), can work together to produce effective, efficient, and most importantly relevant teacher education programs for the 21st century. Finally, Elwyn argues that partnership change must be accompanied by providing opportunities for the further professional development of teachers, teacher tutors, and teacher educators. To ignore this requirement, the effectiveness of a partnership change is likely to suffer the same fate as the ones that it replaced. Links may be drawn between this chapter and the material presented by Denis Veri (Chapter 3) and Carolyne White et al in their chapter (Chapter 5).

Carolyne White, Diane Nuvayouma, and Harvey Paymella (Chapter 5) continue the theme of the necessity of developing teacher education programs that are sensitive to the needs of the clientele that teachers serve. In particular, their chapter illuminates important aspects of a unique teacher education program designed to prepare culturally responsive Hopi teach-

ers. Written in a collaborative storytelling form, the chapter enacts what it argues for: the importance of collaboration for creating and implementing educational projects designed to serve indigenous communities. Comparisons and contrasts can be drawn with the argument presented by Denis Veri (Chapter 3), and the program described in Chapter 8 by Rhonda Craven.

The chapter by Kathryn (Katie) Anderson-Levitt (Chapter 6) uses an example from a reading lesson in France to show that teachers draw on layers of complex knowledge, much of it implicit, to carry out their work. Indeed, the kind of knowledge taught in methods courses in schools of education represents only the tip of the iceberg of the understandings and assumptions on which practicing teachers draw. Educators who want to transform teaching—and teachers who want to reflect deeply on their own teaching—need to take into account the knowledge beneath the surface. Ethnographic research helps, but grand comparisons of the sorts practiced in anthropology, sociology, and history are the best research tools for identifying the knowledge beneath the surface in settings as familiar to us as classrooms. Katie argues that it follows that teacher education should provide plenty of opportunity for studying comparative teaching methods and the history of teaching—not with the intention of adopting foreign or past models, but with the goal of unfettering ourselves of overly narrow preconceptions about learning, teaching, and mass education.

On the background of the escalation of the conflict between Jews and Arabs in Israel, Hanoch Flum and Avi Kaplan (Chapter 7) describe the processes that took place in a group of Jewish and Arab students participating in a training program for school counselors. Focusing on the main course in the program, which aims to facilitate the development of a professional identity as a school counselor, Hanoch and Avi describe an approach to instruction that employs the concept of zone of proximal development and builds on the multi-dimensional diversity among the students for the purpose of triggering processes of personal, interpersonal, and group exploration. Presenting various themes that were central in the process, Hanoch and Avi highlight the roles of the instructors and the students in providing scaffolding for development. The approach, which emphasizes the role of the counselor as based in action research, allows the adaptation of school counseling to diverse settings, and the translation of counseling to the special context of the Arab-Bedouin school system. The curriculum design may be effectively compared with that presented by Craven (Chapter 8). Links may also be drawn between this chapter and the sociocultural material presented by Ivar Bråten, Helge Strømsø, and Bodil Olaussen (Chapter 9) and Walker (Chapter 10).

The ongoing omission of Aboriginal Studies from Australian preservice teacher education courses continues to contribute to perpetuating Aboriginal students' educational disadvantage and many non-Aboriginal Australians' ignorance about shared history. Put simply, this great Australian

silence is disempowering both Indigenous and other Australians to address critical social justice issues of our time. The primary purpose of Craven's chapter (Chapter 8) is to advocate the importance of introducing core Aboriginal Studies teacher education courses. Specifically the chapter provides: a rationale for the introduction of core Aboriginal Studies teacher education courses; and an overview of the 'Teaching the Teachers: Indigenous Australian Studies' Project of National Significance' resources to serve as a subject model for structuring Indigenous Studies preservice teacher education courses. Rhonda's chapter also provides a critical analysis of the impact of mandatory Aboriginal Studies teacher education courses on postgraduate primary teachers' ability to understand and teach Aboriginal Studies effectively; and a discussion of the implications of the chapter for Australian teacher education courses and teacher education internationally.

Ivar Bråten, Helge Strømsø, and Bodil Olaussen (Chapter 9) open a window on Norwegian teacher education to an international audience. Especially, they discuss the strong emphasis given to promoting self-regulated learning through the use of information and communications technology (ICT). They describe an innovative teacher education program constructed for that purpose, discussing both the introduction of the program and its limited success from a sociocultural perspective. Ivar, Helge, and Bodil argue that access to new technologies must be coupled with support for student self-regulatory and collaborative skills. In addition, they discuss the cultural clash that may occur when computers invade classrooms and challenge socioculturally embedded values about the essence of teaching. Comparisons may be drawn with the discussions presented by both Hanoch Flum and Avi Kaplan (Chapter 7) and Richard Walker (Chapter 10).

Our final chapter by Richard Walker (Chapter 10) considers teacher development from a Vygotskian perspective through an examination of communities of learning and practice in teacher education at the University of Sydney. Richard's chapter begins by considering reasons for the current interest in Vygotskian sociocultural approaches to learning and then considers why these approaches have been influential in teacher education programs. The relevance of new understandings of learning and cognition emerging from sociocultural theories and their importance for teacher learning in teacher education programs is addressed. Richard's chapter examines research conducted into learning communities and identifies the critical features of learning communities and the sociocultural learning and motivational principles on which they are based. Next the chapter examines three instances of learning communities in teacher education at The University of Sydney; the nature, purpose, and procedures of these learning communities are described. The ways in which teacher learning and thinking occurs in these learning communities is explained, as are the ways in which a sense of identity as a teacher is created through the learn-

ing community. Richard gives some prominence to student resistance to learning in such environments, and the role of technology in teaching. The chapter concludes with an evaluation of the relevance of Vygotskian sociocultural theories in teacher education programs. Contrasts and comparisons can be drawn with the material presented by Hanoch Flum and Avi Kaplan (Chapter 7) and Ivar Bråten, Helge Strømsø, and Bodil Olaussen (Chapter 9).

The themes presented in these ten chapters are well integrated and we encourage you to read the entire volume to see the interconnections and to stimulate your thinking on key issues related to the training of teachers for diverse educational settings.

In the next section we give brief biographies on our authors and encourage you to contact them if you wish to further follow-up any of their ideas.

AUTHOR BIOGRAPHIES

Introduction

Dennis McInerney is Professor of Educational Psychology and Associate Director of the Self Concept Enhancement and Learning Facilitation Research Center at the University of Western Sydney, Australia. Dennis has a strong interest in cross-cultural research and has published extensively in refereed international journals, and has written numerous book chapters and conference papers, particularly in the area of motivation and learning. His textbook *Educational Psychology: Constructing Learning* (3rd ed, 2002, Prentice Hall Australia, co-authored with Associate Professor Valentina McInerney) is the top selling educational psychology text in Australia and is widely used as a standard text in most Australian universities. Dennis's latest texts are *Helping Kids Achieve Their Best: Understanding and Using Motivation in the Classroom* (Allen & Unwin, 2001), *Publishing Your Psychology Research: A guide to writing for journals in psychology and related fields* (Sage, 2001), and *Research on Sociocultural Influences on Motivation and Learning* Vols. 1 & 2 (with Shawn Van Etten, Information Age Press, 2001 & 2002). d.mcinerney@uws.edu.au

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Chapter 1

Martin Haberman is a Distinguished Professor of Education at the University of Wisconsin Milwaukee. Since developing the intern model that became the National Teacher Corps he has developed numerous intern and alternative teacher education programs. His Urban Teacher Selection Interview and Urban Administrator Selection Interview are used in 120 major urban areas in the United States. Prof. Haberman's most widely used book is *Star Teachers for Children in Poverty.* mhaberma@uwm.edu

Chapter 2

Jennie Whitcomb is the assistant dean of the School of Education at the University of Colorado, Boulder. From 1997 to 2002 she directed the teacher education program at the University of Denver. Jennie's scholarly interests include teacher learning and cognition, pedagogy in teacher education, and policy in teacher education. With Judy Shulman and Rachel Lotan, she co-edited a casebook for teachers *Using Groupwork in Heterogeneous Classrooms: A Casebook for Educators* (Teachers College Press, 1998). She has also published recently in *Teaching Education* (2002), *Journal of Curriculum Studies* (forthcoming), and a chapter entitled "Learning and Pedagogy in Initial Teacher Preparation" in the *Handbook of Psychology: Educational Psychology, Volume 7* (John Wiley & Sons, 2003). Jennie.Whitcomb@colorado.edu

Chapter 3

Denis Viri is the Interim Director of the Center for Indian Education, College of Education, Arizona State University. He currently directs several service and teacher training projects involving Arizona Native languages. He is also author and Co-principal investigator of a national study funded by the Office of Education Research and Improvement, which is investigating first the effect of Native teacher preparation (NTP) programs in supporting or influencing change in Native pre-service teachers' attitudes toward language and culture in the learning environment and in preparing them to effectively situate their teaching within the cultural context of their students. Second, it examines their experiences as teachers as they are affected by the varying contexts of their schools and classrooms. Dr. Viri earned his Ph.D. from the University of Arizona, Tucson, Arizona, and has 25 years experience working with Arizona Native communities. He is

also editor of the *Journal of American Indian Education,* a scholarly journal in continuous publication since 1961. Prior to his service at Arizona State University, he was Director of Tribal Relations and Outreach for the Pima County Community College District, Tucson, Arizona for six years. A native of Australia, Denis was raised in California and served in the Peace Corps in Somalia and Tamil Nadu, India. Denis. Viri@asu.edu

Chapter 4

Elwyn Thomas is now a freelance education consultant, but was formerly Head of the Department of International and Comparative Education at the University of London, Institute of Education. His first degree was in Biological Sciences and subsequent higher degrees were in Biochemistry and Educational Psychology and his doctorate in Child Development. He has recently held visiting professorships at the Nanyang Technological University, Singapore, University of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur, and earlier at Dacca Institute of Educational Research Bangladesh, and Ain Shams University, Cairo. Elwyn is at present a visiting academic at the Institute of Education, University of London, and Visiting Professor at Huddersfield University, UK. His main fields of interest include, Teacher Education, Cross cultural behavior related to educational issues, cultural pedagogy, values education and citizenship, teacher assessment and teacher educator training, and quality control and assessment of higher education. He has served as an education consultant with the World Bank, UNESCO, British Council, African Development Bank, Asian Development Bank, UNDP and the Commonwealth Secretariat in London. He is at present working on proposed education projects in Myamar (Burma), and school and college curricula in Malaysia, where he lives for part of each year. His most recent publications include editorship of the World Yearbook of Education for 2002 entitled *Teacher Education: Dilemmas and Prospects,* published by Kogan Page of London, and his authored volume on *Culture and Schooling: Building bridges between research, praxis and professionalism* in 2000 published by Wiley of Chichester UK and New York. Etomsk3@hotmail.com

Chapter 5

Carolyne J. White is an Associate Professor in the Department of Educational Leadership at Northern Arizona University. She remains co-principal investigator of the Hopi Teachers for Hopi Schools Project. Carolyne.White@NAU.EDU

Diane Nuvayouma recently completed her master's degree in business. She is presently applying to graduate programs to complete her PhD in business.

Harvey Paymella has recently resigned from his position as Executive Director for the Hopi Tribe's Office of Education. He plans to pursue a number of educational consulting activities.

Chapter 6

Kathryn (Katie) Anderson-Levitt studied at Stanford and is now a Professor of Anthropology at the University of Michigan-Dearborn, where she teaches all kinds of courses from Education and Culture, to Anthropology 101, to Culture and International Business. Katie is also an associate dean of the College of Arts, Sciences, and Letters, and a former editor of the Anthropology and Education Quarterly. She has conducted research on cultural knowledge for teaching in France, and on local and transnational ideals of good reading instruction in the Republic of Guinea, West Africa. Katieal@umd.umich.edu

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Avi Kaplan is a Lecturer in the Department of Education at Ben-Gurion University of the Negev in Beer-Sheva, Israel. He received his Ph.D. in Education and Psychology from the University of Michigan. His research interests include motivation, self-processes, and intergroup relations in educational contexts. akaplan@bgumail.bgu.ac.il

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Chapter 9

Ivar Bråten is Professor of Educational Psychology at the Institute for Educational Research, University of Oslo, Norway. His research interests include academic motivation, learning strategies, metacognition, self-regulated learning, spelling, text comprehension, and word recognition, and he has published articles in refereed international journals in all these areas. ivar.braten@ped.uio.no

Helge Strømsø is a post-doctoral research fellow at the University of Oslo, Norway. His research interests include reading comprehension, self-regulated learning, and the use of information and communications technology in higher education. h.i.stromso@ped.uio.no

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Chapter 10

Richard Walker teaches in educational psychology at undergraduate and postgraduate levels in the Faculty of Education at the University of Sydney. His current research interests are in sociocultural theory (learning, motivation, conceptual change)and his recent publications in this area include a chapter on the development of professional knowledge and expertise in J Higgs & A Titchen (Eds.), (2001). *Practice, knowledge, and the health professions* (Butterworth-Heineman) and a chapter, with Kimberley Pressick-Kilborn, in D. McInerney & S. Van Etten (Eds.).(2002) *Sociocul-*

tural influences on motivation and learning. Vol 2 (Information Age Publishing). He is currently researching schooling for marginalised and homeless youth from a sociocultural perspective.

CHAPTER 1

CAN TEACHER EDUCATION CLOSE THE ACHIEVEMENT GAP?

Martin Haberman

SETTING THE STAGE

On September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks in New York, Pennsylvania, and Virginia claimed the lives of over 3,000 people. But every day of the school year, on average, this same number drop out of high school and very few take notice. America's greatest crisis is a silent one. While a majority of these youngsters are white, African American and Latino students are conspicuously over-represented. By the end of the school year as many as 500,000 tenth to twelfth graders have "disappeared" (Wingspread, 2002). The likelihood that these youngsters will ever have a job that pays enough to secure adequate health care or an apartment in a safe neighborhood is significantly diminished. In most cases their lives are limited to dead end jobs, or wasted away in street violence or prison. My estimate is that this horrendous statistic is matched by an equal number of those who never appear in any drop-out data because they have never made it to high school. They are the victims of failed middle schools using high stakes testing as an admission barrier into failing high schools. I believe we are creat-

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ing a city the size of Chicago every two and one half years filled with people Jesse Jackson has labeled "no hopers."

According to Paul Loeb (1999, p 87-88) families in the top 25% in income send 86% of their children to college while families in the bottom 20% send 4% of their children to college. But there are other gaps that must be addressed as well: racial, language, early childhood experience, health, parent education, and school and class size gaps, all of which contribute to the achievement gap. While the majority of the 14 million children in poverty are white, there are disproportionately high numbers of African American and Latino children represented. The diverse children in urban poverty represent about half of these 14 million.

Closing these gaps is essentially an issue of equity and justice, not science. Before diverse students in poverty schools can achieve as much as advantaged ones, they need to be part of a society that does not believe giving them access to equal treatments and resources will hurt their own children or raise their taxes.

Closing the gap is not a question of generating more fruitful hypotheses. There is already a solid knowledge base explaining why there are successful individual schools serving diverse children in poverty operating in the midst of failing districts. Teacher educators are witnesses, sometimes insightful ones, to life in schools. But understanding that teacher education, like the public schools, reflects rather than shapes American society is basic to any discussion of removing the achievement gap.

DISTRIBUTING SCARE RESOURCES

The recognition that selected constituencies derive more benefits than others is not new or strange in American society. Our basic assumption is that in a free society some will inevitably fare better than others. We live with the unequal distribution of goods and services every day of our lives. Inevitably the goods that are most desired and the services that are most vital are a scarce resource. There is never enough of what is most wanted or needed to go around. We solve this problem of "Who gets what?" by raising costs. If, for example, the scarce resource to be distributed is a limited number of downtown parking spaces then the parking fees on lots and in garages increase until only those who can pay for the limited spaces are able to park. We satisfy our sense of fairness by providing the public equal access to a limited number of metered spaces on a first come first serve basis but these spaces are less conveniently located, metered by the hour and ticketed for overtime lapses. We have mollified both the god of individual initiative by providing those with the means to have access to highly desirable, limited parking and the god of equity and access by providing the public with the opportunity to compete for public parking. We have learned to accept this dual process as the best way to distribute a scarce

resource. Our commonly held value is that those who are paying a great deal should be able to park.

As we mature we become cognizant of more than how material goods are distributed. The distribution of many services affecting our day-to-day existence and futures are recognized as vital. Access to health care, legal services, insurance coverage, police and fire protection, transportation, housing, and educational services come to the foreground of our consciousness. Various levels of government take responsibility for providing these services and everyone is deemed to be entitled to these basic services. Frequently, we go even further and espouse the goal that everyone is entitled to "high quality" services in these and other vital areas. As politicians spend their careers reiterating such lofty promises it becomes increasingly difficult to reconcile reality and rhetoric. Our stated values of equity and access for all don't match the actual availability and distribution of services declared to be entitlements for all at a level of "high quality." For example, in health care high quality refers to having the most qualified doctors in the best hospitals utilizing the latest treatments on a personal and thorough basis. This definition of high quality makes it clear that health care is a scarce resource since there is a limited number of the best doctors, treatments, and services available. As in the more simple parking example, the problem of how to distribute top quality health care is solved by enabling those who can pay the highest, escalating costs to secure the service. Those who can pay less receive basic but something less than the highest quality care. The 43 million without health insurance have equal access to compete for the health services provided by emergency rooms and other public services. As a matter of life and death, health care is infinitely more important than parking so there is more political activity and public discourse about its availability. But when the talk about everyone being entitled to high quality or even basic health care has subsided, the actual distribution of scarce health care services is determined on the basis of who can pay for them. In spite of the fact that some health care professionals contribute pro bono services, the government provides subsidies and the private sector makes substantial contributions, the correlation between ability to pay and access to high quality service is high and not due to chance: the more one can pay the greater the likelihood that one's health care will increase in quality. Many typically pay more than half of their total assets in their last year of life just to secure even basic health services.

The fact that there is always a finite amount of the highest quality of any service is what makes it a scarce resource. Access to scarce high quality resources is controlled by three factors:

1. awareness that the service or opportunity exists,
2. knowledge of the method (set of steps, procedures, hurdles) for securing the service and
3. sufficient resources for buying the service.

Nowhere is this three step process for distributing high quality service more assiduously followed than in deciding who has access to high quality education.

EDUCATION AS A PERSONAL GOOD

The achievement gap is not an aberration of American society nor is it an unintended consequence. Quite the contrary, it reflects the will of the overwhelming majority of Americans who believe that education is a personal not a common good and that the highest quality education is a scarce resource. Schooling is the means we use to produce winners and losers. Who gets into the prestigious colleges is the critical question at the top achievers' level. Who goes to the other colleges or to post secondary institutions reflects the competition at the next levels down. Who gets training for a decent job or any job at all is the next level and so on. When we get to the poor and diverse children in urban schools the lofty mission of advanced knowledge, citizenship, and self-actualization we want for our children has been narrowed down to get a job and stay out of jail. At this lowest level of the bottom half there is no longer any competition for a future of any substantial value. This level is miseducation and the future "opportunities" it leads to are far from a scarce resource.

School systems state goals as universals but their actual work is sorting students not equalizing their opportunities to learn. Failing public schools in urban districts function in ways that ensure that diverse children in poverty will be kept in the bottom half on standardized tests of school achievement. They function as custodial institutions rather than as places where learning is the primary activity. The "pedagogy" offered is these "schools" is a set of cultural rituals that bears no resemblance whatever to the knowledge base in teaching and learning (Haberman, 1991b). As in other exploitative situations, most of the parents of the 14 million diverse children in poverty in the 120 largest school districts and in poor rural areas honestly believe that their schools are treating their children fairly. In my own city we tolerate a high school which had 18 percent graduate last year in a district that has an overall 36 percent high school graduation rate for African Americans—and this is a higher rate than in other urban districts.

Maintaining and supporting failure in our urban school districts over decades cannot be attributed to chance. Typically, scholars writing in this field assume that the people who are accountable for who is in the bottom half are well intentioned; they just don't have sufficient knowledge and understanding (Sarason, 1990). Even the most scholarly analysis of why school reform has failed stops short of attributing motive and assumes that we just need to know more and that once we do we will then act more wisely (Fullan & Miles, 1992). But reasonable analysts must conclude oth-

erwise. The long-term institutionalization of failure for diverse children in poverty can only be the result of systematic design and purposeful, committed resistance to change. For over half a century failed urban school districts and teacher education efforts directed at improving urban teaching have spent billions of dollars from federal and private sources specifically directed at equalizing the quality of the schooling offered diverse children in urban poverty. While accepting the funds, urban school districts have effectively withstood these change efforts. The result is that urban schools continue to worsen and the achievement gap has become solidified and predictable.

My short answer to the question posed in this title is "No." I have seen little to suggest that teacher education seeks to or can contravene society's intentions and close an achievement gap that is purposeful and rooted in American culture. For me the question raises two others: Can teacher education become a sufficiently powerful force to affect urban schools at all? Can school districts organized to function as a sorting mechanism for maintaining a bottom half be transformed into instrumentalities for achieving greater social justice and equity? My answer to the first question is "yes" and to the second an equally certain "no".

A few very vital points of the history of teacher education are relevant to the current analysis and need to be kept in mind in order to more clearly understand why traditional programs of teacher education do not prepare enough teachers for diverse children in urban poverty.

- Teacher training institutions were purposely and systematically located across rural America (where their state college descendents remain today), because their clients were white, unmarried farm girls who needed employment.
- A great number of such normal schools were needed to ensure that female teachers would not work further than fifty miles from home, could easily return home for holidays and summer work, and that the teachers being trained would be likely to be of the same religious and ethnic background as the children they would be training in morality and the abc's.
- The notion that school teaching is the appropriate work of young, single women has been imbedded in American culture for more than 150 years. The perception that even married women are less appropriate than single women has been reinforced during periods of economic depression when married women in many urban districts were laid off.
- There were very few public normal schools started in urban areas. A few exceptions existed in St. Louis and Detroit but these closed or were subsequently included in larger multipurpose institutions. New York City, with the largest population of children in the country,

never had a single publicly supported normal school but the State of New York opened twelve in rural areas.

- There can be no question that teacher training in America was developed as a rural phenomenon for the children of Europeans of primarily Protestant background. Catholics tended to cluster in the cities and attend parochial schools where teachers were from religious orders and were not normal school graduates. Beginning in the 20th century however large numbers of Catholic women became urban teachers in public schools and still constitute the majority of teachers in many Eastern and Midwestern public urban school systems even today.
- The need for teachers who could be effective with African Americans, other children of color, children in urban poverty, and non-European populations was never a consideration in the development of the knowledge base in American teacher education.
- The knowledge base purporting to explain normal child development, how normal children learn and what constitutes normal behavior that is offered in traditional programs of teacher education is derived in greatest measure from psychology where the unit of study and analysis is the individual. Other ways of understanding and explaining human behavior that reflect cultural constructs are still very minimal additions to state requirements for approving university based teacher education programs (e.g., a course in Multicultural Education).

What is the import of these trends? Understanding even a few of the basic facts surrounding the development of teacher training in America it is extremely naïve to raise questions such as why teacher education is not relevant to diverse children in urban poverty, or why teacher education does not provide more teachers who will be effective in teaching all children, or why teachers who complete traditional programs of teacher education do not seem to be able to relate to all children. It was never the intention of teacher education in America to prepare teachers to teach all the children. And since the current output of teachers seek to avoid teaching where they are needed most and will not stay longer than a brief period if they do accept positions in poverty schools, it is entirely reasonable to conclude that the historical and cultural truths regarding teacher training in America still explain and predict the functioning of university based teacher education today.

For 43 years I have been directly involved with developing and offering teacher education programs for diverse children in poverty schools. In recent years colleagues and I have taken effective elements from various teacher education programs and combined them into demonstration models. In reconstituted schools in Houston and Buffalo colleagues have demonstrated that if we can select a faculty of beginning and veteran teachers

the achievement gap can be closed. We have turned individual failing schools into effective ones but have not, thus far, been able to use teacher education to close the gap in an entire school district. These teacher education elements include: recruiting mature college graduates from all fields; using structured interviews to select candidates whose responses are comparable to those of effective urban teachers; directly observing candidates actually relating and connecting to diverse children in poverty before admitting them into a program of preparation; placing candidates as paid, teachers of record in urban classrooms; providing skilled mentors as coaches who were themselves recent and effective classroom teachers in urban schools; providing technological support that connects the candidates to resources and to mentors for round the clock advice; providing professional studies which offer candidates problem solving for specific classroom problems; showing the candidates how to teach the curricula required in their district using the methods the district requires; ensure that all advice offered candidates is realistically aligned with the conditions under which they work including union contracts; providing part time assessors who make regular, formal evaluations and feed them back to candidates and mentors; making certain that candidates who are failing to connect with students are dropped from the program prior to the end of October so that children can still have a successful year; recommending candidates for licensure on criteria that include evaluations of their students' learning.

The teacher shortage undergirds the achievement gap since diverse children in urban poverty will not catch up through independent study or being schooled at home. The Department of Education estimates that 3 million teachers will be needed in the next decade. This demand increased sharply because of the "Leave no child behind" legislation which requires a highly qualified teacher in every classroom by 2006. The main reasons for the shortage is the churn of teachers who quit or fail and simply pass through urban schools on their way to other careers. Nationally half of the beginners in urban districts are gone in five years. In my own city this turnover occurs in three years. But there are other reasons why the shortage grows. In many states such as my own, as many as 71% of those prepared in traditional programs of teacher education in a given year do not take jobs serving diverse children in poverty (Schug & Western, 1998). Half of those who deign to take positions serving children in poverty leave in five years or less creating a constant teacher churn. And since a career in teaching is now approximately only 11 years long in states serving the majority of America's low-income students, the shortage is here to stay. In my own city of 7,000 plus teachers we hire 7,000 new ones every seven years. That's the bad news. The good news is that we have closed the gap in specific schools by providing them with effective principals and teachers and that raises the hope we can change others in the same urban district as well. To explore what I believe can be done, I've selected three questions out of a dozen or

more critical ones that are key if teacher education in America is to impact the gap. They are: Who should teach? What must they be prepared to do? How can we evaluate success?

WHO SHOULD TEACH?

The work I have pursued convinces me that in preparing teachers for diverse children in poverty, selection is more important than training. If I were to put a relative weight on it I would estimate that for urban schools selection is 80% of the matter. This does not mean that college courses, student teaching and inservice workshops are a waste of time or cannot help participants learn new concepts and behaviors. If offered to the right people these traditional formats can be beneficial: how beneficial depends mainly on those selected and somewhat on the knowledge and teaching know-how of the instructors. Given inappropriate students, interns or beginning teachers, however, traditional teacher education modalities will teach little to and change less about the participants. Indeed, selecting the wrong candidates, then using the traditional instructional modalities will make participants worse by deepening their prejudices and providing them with a database of direct experiences on which they can more firmly build and strengthen their stereotypes and misconceptions (Haberman, 1991a). This is also true for inservice teachers (Sleeter, 1992).

The most efficient ways of recruiting and selecting the wrong people at the initial teacher preparation level i.e., those who will never take positions teaching diverse children in poverty, or who will quit or fail if they deign to try—are the criteria most commonly used: a composition on "Why I want to teach," G.P.A., letters of reference, a basic skills test, etc. These irrelevant criteria are frequently used in traditional and as well as in alternative certification programs. Actually, undergraduate GPA does predict. If it is extremely high in courses outside of education it predicts failing and quitting. The majority of early leavers are individuals with higher G.P.A.'s and standardized test scores than those who stay; more have also had academic majors (Darling Hammond & Sclan, 1996). Teachers who see teaching as primarily an intellectual activity are eight times more likely to leave the classroom (Quartz, 2001).

The explanation for the power of selection is certainly not new and not limited to teacher education. In 1890 William James explained how we take in and make sense of the world by a process of selective perception (James, 1892). This construct explains much about the lifelong strengthening of belief systems which account for and predict behavior. Selective perception is always hard at work feeding our belief systems and predisposing us to act in particular ways The various disciplines dealing with human behavior that have burgeoned over the last century have produced a vari-

ety of theories that seek to explain the sources and development of the pre-dispositions which control the ways in which we take in our world. In their own ways they all support the concept of selective perception. Further, the differences in the ways individuals selectively perceive schools, children and learning are supported by their ideologies and belief systems. These belief systems are extremely resistant to change by the trivial treatments used in teacher education programs and for effective teachers, even resistant to the powerful influences of the negative working conditions in poverty schools. These belief systems not only describe but predict teacher behavior.

In The Urban Teacher Selection Interview we use to identify who will succeed, candidates' responses are evaluated in terms of the degree to which their pre-dispositions to act resemble those of stars or quitters/failers (Haberman, 1995). Quitters/failers can be quite articulate in explaining why they cannot continue to work with children who are physically and emotionally not ready to learn, in unsafe and nonconducive school climates, required to teach irrelevant curriculum unaligned to achievements tests, supervised by irrational principals, burdened by large classes, with inadequate materials and equipment, and buried in paper-work from chaotic central offices. But effective teachers working in the same district, in the same building and with the very same children, are willing to assume responsibility and be accountable for their children's learning even though they have no control over their working conditions, or the parents, or the students' out-of-school lives. Effective teachers see ensuring success in school as a matter of life and death for children who may well be unaware and unappreciative of their services. Such teachers are internally motivated and persist in spite of few external rewards. These belief systems and the perceptions they shape cannot be taught in programs of teacher preparation. They represent a realm of cognitive and affective knowledge that already exists in many mature adults and must be selected for rather than trained.

WHAT MUST TEACHERS BE PREPARED TO DO?

The content of what teachers need to know and do has been a source of continuing debate for 175 years between those who emphasize knowledge of subject matter and those who also support professional content. Subject matter advocates focus on the prospective teacher's knowledge of math, English, science, etc. and assume this to be the basic knowledge base of teachers. Professional educators focus on the future teachers' knowledge of child development, the nature of learning and teaching methods as the essential knowledge base. For teachers of diverse children in poverty both realms are necessary but not sufficient conditions. There is a third realm

dealing with the teacher's ability to relate to and connect with children, which determines whether subject matter and professional knowledge can be used. Without this ability to connect with children how much the teacher knows about math or the seven parts of direct instruction becomes moot. Quitters and failers do not leave teaching in poverty schools because they can't divide fractions or do not know the characteristics of 13-year-olds. They leave because they don't *want* to be with *those* children in *those* schools and the children make it equally clear they don't want them to be their teachers.

While some teacher educators appreciate that the ability to connect with diverse children in urban poverty represents a valid realm of knowledge and skills, their tacit assumption seems to be that candidates who complete a program of teacher education will somehow pick up relationship skills as some sort of ancillary by-product. Nothing could be further from the truth. An example of how pre-dispositions interact with selective perceptions, beliefs and then actions can be seen in how quitter/failure teachers explain success of teachers and children in school. They explain success in terms of ability. This ability paradigm then controls the way in which they perceive and explain life and learning in their classrooms and schools. On the other hand, effective teachers believe in and use effort to explain success. They behave as if generating effort all day, everyday from everyone is the essence of the teacher's job. These different belief systems shape and control how each group of teachers connects with and teaches their students. Quitter/failers define their work as planning and offering appropriate lessons. Effective teachers spend their planning time identifying interest grabbing activities and materials and their teaching time trying to engage and activate diverse learners.

This third realm of knowledge—the ability to establish connectedness and maintain relationships—undergirds the selective perception of successful urban teachers. They assume and cope with the fact that they and the children will have to operate in bureaucracies with irrational policies and insensitive people. They act as grease between the machinery of a mindless system and the needs of their children. They warmly accept inclusion students with disabilities as a reasonable expectation of their job. They believe parents/caregivers are resources not merely homework helpers. They work with health and human service workers involved with their children and families. They understand student development in terms of cultural and ethnic knowledge. They know how to prevent and de-escalate violence. They demonstrate respect and caring for students who may commit despicable acts. These and many other demonstrated behaviors are not part of preparation programs because they cannot be transmitted as subject matter in a college class or workshop. But taken together these perceptions and the behaviors they lead to represent what I have come to see is a body of knowledge prerequisite to learning the content and methods for teaching effectively in diverse poverty schools.

HOW CAN WE EVALUATE SUCCESS?

In 1963 my Milwaukee Intern Program was adopted as the model for the National Teacher Corps. In the ten subsequent years of the corps' existence (1962-73) we trained over 100,000 college graduates from all fields as urban teachers. Eighty universities cooperated in offering these programs. This remains the largest demonstration-research project ever conducted in American teacher education. Based on its size and the number of institutions involved it was generally regarded as a success. Little mention was made of the fact that when the federal funding stopped every institution dropped its program. Fewer than 5% of the teachers prepared remained in urban classrooms for longer than three years. Very few of the programs collected any student achievement data regarding the interns' effect on children's learning. Using the criterion of what difference this monumental effort had on urban schools and teacher education, the corps might well be described as a failure. While we learned a great deal regarding which program elements would change teacher behaviors (cited above), we also learned that colleges and universities did not know how to recruit, select, and prepare teachers who could turn urban schools around and further, that they would not assume the responsibility and accountability for doing so. The National Teacher Corps clearly missed its stated objective of serving as a change agent for improving urban schools by training better teachers (Corwin, 1973).

In the programs which I have participated in developing and continue to work in we avoid the process criteria typically used to evaluate programs of traditional teacher education. We use children's learning as the criterion for passing or failing candidates and recommending that they be licensed. We also account for the issue of the program's relevance to the urban schools by accepting only candidates for our teacher education programs after they have passed the school districts' screening criteria. In effect, if the district is willing to guarantee them a contract we agree to train them. When we fail a student (we call them Resident Teachers because they are teachers of record in poverty schools) it is because the children in their classrooms are not learning. It is important to note that by learning we do not refer to only test scores but rely heavily on students' work samples in determining whether learning is taking place. In our vision of who we serve we do not regard the Residents in training as our clients. The diverse children in poverty whom they teach are our clients. Typically, failures cannot produce a series of work samples which convinces us that the children in their classrooms are achieving at a reasonable rate. Once we observe Residents who are disconnected from the children we can predict with great reliability that the children will not be producing meaningful work; work which demonstrates progress over time. We inform the Residents that we can help them with lesson planning, organization

skills, management systems, and even subject matter gaps but we cannot teach them the relationship skills they lack.

The reverse of this situation also pertains. When we see teachers connecting with and relating to children in positive ways we see the beginning of professional development for the Resident and genuine learning opportunities for children. There is no limit to how much and how quickly Residents with relationship skills can learn about the nature of their students and the nature of teaching and learning. In extreme cases we have a few Residents whose abilities to connect are so highly developed that everything (anything) they do "works." It becomes a challenge to their mentors to help them understand that their students will do even better once they learn how to teach.

Recommending Residents for a state license on the basis of student learning rather than because they have completed program requirements demands that colleges and universities that claim they are preparing urban teachers must also be willing to become accountable and responsible to the public for the quality of the teaching in their local urban schools. If the universities are not providing the teachers needed they cannot be deemed satisfactory since they are irrelevant. If the teachers they do provide are not effecting children's learning, the teacher education institutions must be held equally accountable with the failing urban districts for the achievement gap.

A FINAL NOTE

I believe whining that the schools must change the conditions of work before they can prepare effective teachers cannot dodge the responsibility of teacher educators to produce effective teachers for failed urban districts. Extrapolating the trends of the last half-century it is quite likely that teaching conditions in urban schools will continue to worsen not improve. Private foundations have essentially withdrawn from supporting teacher education and urban school initiatives after half a century of supporting programs which have been unable to close the achievement gap or make traditional programs of teacher education prepare the teachers needed for the real world (Edna Clark Foundation, 2001). Since we know how to prepare *carefully selected* teachers to be successful in the worst school conditions we should seek to disseminate and implement that knowledge. We also know how to turn an individual school around by

1. grouping effective teachers into the same school,
2. building on these teachers' positive predispositions and relationship skills,
3. mentoring them on the job and
4. assessing their teaching on the basis of children's learning.

What we lack is the experience of using a teacher education model to transform an entire urban district. The fact that we cannot scale upward from creating successful individual urban schools to transforming an entire urban district should not be surprising. If we were successful on this larger scale then substantial numbers of those presently in the bottom half would be replacing those now benefiting from an unjust system. Clearly, such a shift would threaten some very basic values in the American culture. Our society can tolerate some youngsters escaping the bottom half; too many escapees however would topple the current distribution of scarce, lifelong educational benefits. Those currently deriving undeserved economic and social advantages need take no overt action to remain in the top half. Their benefits derive from a system of schooling that has been thoroughly institutionalized by custom, law, and the mechanisms in place for financing public education.

The notion that American society will somehow reorder its system of distributing access to educational and social benefits once experts implement more powerful change strategies, or after there are more urgent appeals to the public's sense of justice are incredibly naïve. All our schools and especially those "serving" diverse children in urban poverty, reflect the values and intentions of our society. Rarely noted is the fact that teacher education also reflects society's intentions and values regarding the appropriate schooling for diverse children in poverty.

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CHAPTER 2

PRACTICE MATTERS Reflections on the Importance of Teacher Educator's Practice

Jennifer A. Whitcomb

INTRODUCTION

This chapter approaches the central questions of this volume from the perspective of teacher educator's practice. I make the deceptively simple, and some might say self-evident argument that great teacher educators are an essential feature of great teacher education programs. Though many educators are involved in most teacher education programs, this chapter focuses on those individuals who teach courses addressing the professional knowledge base of teaching.[1] Teacher educator's passion and pedagogy often play a formative role in new teacher's understanding of teaching and learning (Loughran & Russell, 1997). Along with a well-wrought conceptual framework that orients a program and thoughtfully integrated course and field experiences, the teacher educator's practice matters.

It matters for several reasons. First, good teacher educators embody theoretical ideas and principles; that is, they seek to "practice what they

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teach," to ensure their pedagogy is consistent with their purposes as educators and with current learning theories. Second, good teacher educators provide a vision of the possible (Hammerness, 2003), particularly, when the goal is "adventurous," reform-minded teaching (Cohen, 1989). Teacher candidates benefit from models and pedagogic images that counter those developed either in their apprenticeships of observation (Lortie, 1975) or as a result of lackluster teaching encountered in field experiences. Third, good teacher educators inspire those entering the profession. US popular culture venerates the exceptional teacher (Joseph & Burnaford, 2001), and teacher educators are no exception. Candidates yearn for inspiration; metaphorically speaking, they throw down a gauntlet, daring us to inspire them. They enter formal teacher education with a nascent sense of teaching as vocation (Hansen, 1995) and resonate to those teacher educators who passionately live out their vocation of teaching. In short, good teacher educators often serve as compass points or iconic images for new teachers because they model the habits of mind and heart that characterize the best in the profession.

Though research on teacher education has paid little attention to teacher educator's practice (Zeichner, 1999),[2] I argue substantive attention to teacher educator's practice is a fertile site for reform in teacher preparation. To take up an examination of teacher educator's practice, I begin with a review of several conceptualizations of practice in teacher education and its relationships with theory. Second, I outline four aspects of teacher educator's practice that matter. In the final section, I suggest how thoughtful attention to teacher educator's practice creates a pathway to reform in teacher education.

Before moving on, however, it seems pertinent to affirm that the aim of all teacher education is sound, inspired practice or pedagogy. Put another way, teacher educators seek to shape candidate's development such that they leave programs with the knowledge, dispositions, and pedagogical repertoire that enable them to foster deep understanding on the part of their pupils. The measure of a good teacher education program is the quality of practice its graduates enact. How to determine that quality is highly contested, as the current accountability movement in education attests.

Teacher candidates often arrive with relatively stable beliefs about teaching and learning, based on their prior experiences (Lortie, 1975; Kennedy, 1998). Many candidates initially perceive teaching as the straightforward carrying out of basic routines and strategies and as a relatively common sense endeavor. Though they anticipate encountering problems, they do not necessarily see teaching as a series of ill-structured problems or dilemmas that require wise judgment (Cuban, 2001). Indeed, they do not necessarily see their professional preparation involving mastery of a broad theoretical or conceptual base that informs their practice; nor, do they necessarily expect to engage in systematic reflection upon their attitudes,

beliefs, and prior experiences as a part of learning to practice; nor do they necessarily anticipate that they must learn to articulate and/or critique both normative and empirical arguments regarding the substance and manner of their practice. They also tend to approach learning to teach with a relatively simplistic notion of "learning by doing;" they believe that teaching is an art/craft learned through mimesis, in the company of a master.

Teacher educators, however, as a result of their clinical and scholarly experiences view teaching and learning as an endeavor characterized by uncertainty (Jackson, 1986). They recognize the complexity and enormity of the challenge to educate *all* children in manners we have historically reserved for a small segment of the overall community. To meet this ambitious challenge requires command of a substantial body of knowledge whose domains have been elaborated in multiple ways (e.g., Ball & Cohen, 1999; Wang, Haertel, & Walberg, 1993; Shulman, 1987). It requires a range of different kinds of thinking that have been detailed in the literature on teacher cognition, e.g., decision-making, practical reasoning, planning, evaluating, reflecting, (Munby, Russell, & Martin, 2001). Furthermore, given the power associated with decisions about how the next generation will be educated, it requires learning how to justify practice in thoughtfully convincing ways, often to suspicious audiences who hold different, often conflicting, views about the aims of education. Teacher educators also realize that learning to teach is in essence learning to make sound judgments and to engage in wise courses of action. Thus, a fundamental tension characterizes teacher education: Teacher candidates and teacher educators construct the tasks of both teaching and learning to teach in very different ways. Teacher educator's practice plays a formative role in managing this tension.

CONCEPTUALIZING PRACTICE (AND THEORY)

This section takes up two questions: In what ways has the term practice been conceptualized in the context of teacher preparation? How do these conceptions relate to teacher educator's practice? I approach these questions by first reviewing Dewey's (1904, 1977) landmark essay, "The Relation of Theory to Practice in Education," next discussing the theory of "realistic teacher education," introduced by Korthagen and Kessels (1999), then summarizing Ball and Cohen's (1999) notion of a "practice-based theory of professional education." My purpose is to synthesize these conceptual arguments regarding the nature and substance of teacher's knowledge and how it is learned and then to extend that to our understanding of the teacher educator's role, as pedagogical actor, in helping teacher candidates develop and enact that knowledge.

Dewey's Legacy

Dewey's landmark essay "The Relation of Theory to Practice in Education" (1904, 1977) is an important starting point for a discussion of the relationships among practice and theory in the context of teacher preparation. Dewey wrote during a time when the establishment of universities challenged existing normal schools to be the site for formal teacher preparation. Dewey proposed that an extended "laboratory" experience ought to precede an "apprenticeship" experience. Dewey argued that the central problem of teacher preparation in the context of normal schools was the emphasis on the "technique" of teaching, which often narrowed or "fixed" teacher's attention on the superficial mastery of those procedures and actions that controlled children's behaviors. While not negating the fact that learning to solve problems of management is a necessary achievement for all teachers, Dewey felt that directing teacher training toward this end was a penny-wise and pound-foolish endeavor. In the press to prepare individuals who were proficient in management, teacher training neglected teacher's "intellectual responsibility" to be "students of teaching," to master principles of subject-matter and of learning. Dewey warned, "Unless a teacher is such a student, he may continue to improve in the mechanics of school management, but he can not grow as a teacher, an inspirer and director of soul-life" (p. 256).

Of fundamental importance to Dewey was that teachers develop mastery of their subject matter and of how minds develop. Dewey was quick to note that to grasp these principles did not mean that attention to theory had to be "abstruse" and divorced from practice; rather, he proposed that teacher candidates grasp these theoretical principles by examining their own experiences as learners and with children in everyday life followed by focusing their observations of exemplary classroom teachers upon how they engage students' minds. Dewey wrote,

> The first observation of instruction given by model- or critic-teachers should not be too definitely practical in aim. The student should not be observing to find out how the good teacher does it, in order to accumulate a store of methods by which he also may teach successfully. He should rather observe with reference to seeing the interaction of mind, to see how teacher and pupils react upon each other—how mind answers mind...It should go without saying that the student who has acquired power in psychological observation and interpretation may finally go on to observe more technical aspects of instruction, namely, the various methods and instrumentalities used by a good teacher in giving instruction in any subject. If properly prepared for, this need not tend to produce copiers, followers of tradition and example. Such students will be able to translate the practical devices which are such an important part of the equipment of a good teacher over into their psychological equivalents; to know not merely as a matter of brute fact that they do

> work, but to know how and why they work. Thus he will become an independent judge and critic of their proper use and adaptation (p. 260).

Though Dewey's argument to locate teacher preparation within the context of the university did prevail over its competitor, the normal school, his vision of professional preparation is still only partially enacted. Dewey's arguments, made nearly one hundred years ago, give us much to consider, both in terms of the aim of a classroom teacher's practice—to move children's minds—and the aim of practice in teacher education—to serve as an "instrument in making real and vital theoretical instruction" (p. 247). Dewey's legacy is several-fold. First, Dewey clearly aligned the preparation of teachers with that of other professions, notably architecture, engineering, medicine, and law. Though the theme of professionalism has its supporters and detractors, it has persisted since Dewey (Lucas, 1997). Second, Dewey privileged the notion of principled and scientific practice in contrast to intuitive practice; that is, he maintained that teachers ought to have reasons for their actions that are grounded in established "principles in the psychology, logic, and history of education" (p. 255).[3] Without thoughtful reference to these principles, teacher's practice is more likely to be arbitrary, mechanical, or responsive to other's whims. Third, Dewey offered a progression for the introduction to practice, one that gradually immerses the candidate in practice; his progression contrasts with the two most common extremes found, either total immersion in discrete courses which is then followed by school experiences or total immersion in schools, preceded by minimal "boot camp" courses in foundations and methods.[4] Fourth, he offered a vision for the context in which principled practice might fruitfully develop. The laboratory model proposed in this essay and later developed at the University of Chicago (Tanner, 1997) is in many ways a forerunner to the development of professional development schools promoted in current reform initiatives (Darling-Hammond, 1994; Pritchard & Ancess, 1999). He presaged, in many regards, the reoccurring metaphors of developing "teaching schools" in the image of "teaching hospitals." Although, Dewey appeared more interested in laboratory settings as appropriate places for observation, rather than as places for candidates to practice or veteran teachers to renew their teaching. In short, in his efforts to improve the quality of teacher education by refocusing the superficial views of practice promoted in normal schools Dewey articulated a vision for integrating theory and practice.

Lagemann (1996) explains that one of the reasons Dewey's notion of integrating theory and practice was not fully realized in his time lies in the fact that after Dewey left University of Chicago, his successor, Charles Judd sought to establish and elevate the status of the field of education in universities by aligning it with psychology. Given Thorndike's influence on the field of psychology, the epistemology that prevailed and came to dominate the study of education in the 20th century was modeled after the experi-

mental methods of the physical sciences. While this helped to establish schools of educations within research universities, it also laid the structural foundation for many of the challenges associated with current models of teacher education. That is, university-based researchers developed research findings that practitioners were expected to apply in their local contexts. The failure of this "theory to practice" model is discussed in the next section along with an alternative paradigm for professional education that reintroduces the kind of integrated professional knowledge for which Dewey argued.

Korthagen and Kessel's Realistic Teacher Education

Nearly a century later, Korthagen and Kessels (1999), like Dewey, write at a time when the structure and purpose of teacher education is undergoing critical scrutiny and challenge. By 1999, the failure of the dominant, traditional "technical-rational" [5] model of teacher education was well established. In the technical-rationality model, theory is introduced, preferably by university experts. Teacher candidates are then expected to "transfer" those understandings to school settings and "apply" the theory to their practice. The problems of such transfer are legion, and Korthagen and Kessels thoughtfully summarize empirical research explaining why such transfer seldom occurs. Rather than abandoning formal teacher education altogether, as its most critical opponents argue, or taking the less radical step of situating teacher preparation in school-based models where the aim is to provide on-the-job training, Korthagan and Kessels approach the theory/practice divide by calling for a "paradigm shift" in teacher preparation: They seek to jettison the dominant and traditional "technical-rationality model" in favor of "realistic teacher education."

"Realistic teacher education" is a model of teacher education developed and rigorously studied in the Netherlands (Korthagen, Kessels, Koster, Lagerwerf, & Wubbels, 2001). The approach draws upon constructivist, inquiry-oriented "realistic mathematics education." The momentum in realistic teacher education moves from practice to theory; that is, this approach accepts the basic premise that a teacher candidate must create understanding of teaching/learning through reflective inquiry into authentic problems encountered in field settings. Though consistent with constructivist views of teacher education that emerged in the 1980s and 1990s (e.g., Richardson, 1997; Schön, 1987), realistic teacher education addresses two theoretical weaknesses underlying most attempts at reflective teacher education. First, the model draws upon Greek concepts of *episteme* and *phronesis* as a means to explore the nature of theory that is relevant to teachers. Second, the model advances a theory of teacher learning that uncovers the relationship between teacher cognition and behavior.

Korthagen and Kessels refer explicitly to Plato and Aristotle's concepts of *episteme* and *phronesis* to clarify the frequently muddled associations made with the word theory. Their clarification echoes the distinction Dewey drew between the different aims of practice and theory. *Episteme* refers to conceptual knowledge that is generalizable to a wide range of situations; epistemic knowledge "is based on research and can be characterized as 'objective' theory, theory with a big T" (1999, p. 7). By contrast, *phronesis* refers to knowledge that helps an individual perceive, understand, and respond to problems arising in a specific situation or context; it is "theory with a small t" (p.7). Korthagen and Kessels distill the difference between the two forms of knowledge: "...*episteme* aims primarily at helping us to *know* more about many situations, while the emphasis of *phronesis* is mostly on *perceiving* more in a particular situation and finding a helpful course of action on the basis of strengthened awareness" (p.7). Epistemic knowledge, then, characterizes the theory in the technical-rational approach to teacher preparation. Though both types of knowledge can help teachers understand and solve teaching/learning problems, *phronesis* provides insight and understanding that is closer to the problem, that respects and preserves its particulars, that aims for wisdom in action. Others have described this conception of knowledge "practitioner knowledge" (Hiebert, Gallimore, & Stigler, 2002). *Phronesis* is often represented and shared in narratives, metaphors, images, as well as propositional statements or practical arguments (Fenstermacher, 1994; Munby, et al., 2001). Thus, the first theoretical contribution of realistic teacher education involves invoking Greek philosopher's distinction between *episteme* and *phronesis*, which in turn makes possible the normative argument that the proper aim of teacher education is the development of *phronesis*.

The second theoretical contribution of realistic teacher education is its model of teacher's professional learning, which clarifies relationships among teacher's cognition and actions. The model begins with the identification of three levels in learning: gestalt, schematic, and theoretical. They explain,

The Gestalt Level

> If a person reacts without much thinking (in immediate teaching situations), the reaction is generally based on unconsciously triggered needs, values, meanings, feelings, and behavioral inclinations, which together form an inseparable whole called a *gestalt*. This is an extrapolation of the classical gestalt concept, which was mainly used to describe the organization of the visual field. This extrapolation is based on the fact that the classical gestalt laws (e.g., the law of closure) appear to be applicable to the functioning of teachers. Gestalts are very much colored by the needs of the person in the situation triggering the gestalt.

The Schema Level

> If the actor reflects on the situation and the actions taken (this reflection may take place 'in-action' or afterward), and on similar situations, he or she may develop concepts, characteristics, principles, and so on, helpful in describing practice. Still, in order to be functional for practical use, the resulting schema should be of a *phronesis* rather than *epistemic* character. If someone wishes to develop a more theoretical understanding of a range of similar situations, then this will lead to an emphasis on *episteme*, and possibly on to the next level:

The Theory Level

> This is the level at which a logical ordering is constructed in the knowledge formed before: The relations within one's schema are studied or several schemata are connected into one coherent theory. This conceptual knowledge is helpful to *understand* a certain class of situations on the basis of a logical framework, an understanding that is different from the ability to use this knowledge for *acting* in those situations. (Korthagen, et al., 2001, p. 205).

While the distinction among these levels is informative, the model's value comes from the way in which it explains first how individuals draw upon these different levels to make sense of situations and second how learning occurs as individuals transform knowledge from one level to others.

According to the model, teachers perceive and react in particular situations using gestalts. Teacher's professional learning occurs when a gestalt is examined publicly and explicitly. Through such reflective deliberation, "teachers can become aware of the elements that constitute these gestalts and the relationships between these elements" (Korthagen & Kessels, 1999, p. 10), a process that leads to the formation of schema. Schema, can in turn be critically reflected upon, to lead to the theory level. "After some time, knowledge on the schema or even the theory level can become self-evident to the teacher, and the knowledge can be used in a less conscious 'intuitive' way. It is as if the whole schema or theory has been reduced to one gestalt. Van Hiele (1986, p. 46) calls this '*level reduction*'" (Korthagen & Kessels, 1999, p. 10).

In this recursive model, for which there is a growing body of empirical support, "learning about teaching is a process of developing adequate gestalts and not a question of learning to apply adequate theories from academic textbooks" (Kessels, et al., 2001, p. 201). Though theory has a place in the learning process, it follows gestalt formation and schematization; and, through level reduction, it becomes integrated into the unity of perception, interpretation, and action. Furthermore, the model takes into account the immediate needs, emotions, and values associated with

sense-making. As such, it recognizes that not all aspects of learning to teach fall within a rational/analytical framework.

Unlike Dewey, who said little about teacher educator's practice, proponents of realistic teacher education are explicit about the model's consequences for teacher education. As Korthagen and Kessels (1999) point out,

> The level model...clarifies that a teacher educator should not try to induce change on the theory level, but should go down and start on a lower level, especially the gestalt level. This means that the student teacher should first gain more experiences that are suited to developing adequate gestalts (p. 12).

They also recognize that gestalt formation is not an exclusively cognitive endeavor. They argue,

> The student teachers' needs, feelings, concerns, values, and so forth should be taken into account. This opens up a whole array of necessary teacher educator competencies, for example, the competency to create a safe learning environment by means of *acceptance*, *genuineness*, and *empathy*. The ability to stimulate *concreteness* is another very important competency, as is the tool by which differentiation within the gestalts is promoted, leading to schematization. *Confrontation* should not be avoided, but a balance between safety and challenge is needed in order to make confrontation effective (Korthagen & Kessels, 1999, p. 13).

The development of *phronesis* and adequate gestalt formation (with attending schematization and theory building) occurs through a steady diet of reflective thinking. Korthagen and his colleagues (2001) present an extensive repertoire of pedagogical tools and heuristic devices that they have implemented and studied over the years to foster such reflection. Realistic teacher education offers the field a specific pedagogy of reflection, one that articulates well with a substantial literature on how to foster reflection (e.g., Zeichner & Liston, 1996).

Realistic teacher education offers a bold vision of teacher education that is impressive in its depth and explanatory power; it offers a fresh synthesis of a broad body of work regarding the aims, content, character, and methods of teacher education. As a model of teacher learning, it is consistent with situative views of learning to teach (e.g., Borko, Peressini, Romagno, Knuth, Willis-Yorker, Wooley, Hovermill, & Masarik, 2000; Putnam & Borko, 2000) and it accounts for many of the challenges commonly associated with teacher socialization (Lortie, 1975; Zeichner & Gore, 1990). The body of empirical work that supports the model forms a solid base, though more studies remain to be done. It is surprising that scholars of teacher education in the US seldom reference realistic teacher education. Perhaps it is the politicized and highly charged nature of debate

regarding the structure and content of teacher education in the US, perhaps it is a matter of access to European journals of teacher education, perhaps it is that US teacher educators are engaged in a parallel dialogue. Whatever the reason, US teacher educators will find a serious discussion of realistic teacher education provocative. The next section, examines the work of two leading US scholars of teaching and teacher education policy/reform and their arguments for a practice-based theory of professional education.

Ball and Cohen's Practice-Based Theory of Professional Education

Though Ball and Cohen's (1999) discussion pertains to professional development for experienced teachers, the arguments advanced apply to preservice teacher education as well. Ball and Cohen's point of departure is the ambitious purpose of current reform agendas, namely to ensure that diverse learners achieve high levels of understanding. The nature of teacher's practice must change radically if the reforms' aims are to be realized. Though professional development has the potential to help teachers enact these reforms, the fragmented and superficial approaches that dominate are wholly unsuited to this task. They compare the prevalent one-day workshops, with their attention on swift implementation of focal strategies, to "yo-yo dieting" (p. 4). Equally problematic, the culture of teaching promotes norms of individualism, autonomy, and uncritical discourse, which "reinforce the conservatism of practice, with its didactic approaches to teaching and facts-and-skills conceptions of knowledge" (p. 5).

Ball and Cohen advance a proposal that radically rethinks the character and content of teacher's professional development experiences. First, Ball and Cohen point out that in the last three decades, research on learning has redefined and extended the knowledge base for teaching; they enumerate five interwoven domains of knowledge (subject matter, children, cultural differences, learning theory, and pedagogy), noting that "the sorts of knowledge and learning [require] that teachers move far beyond their own personal and educational experience" (p. 10). Second, they assert that the above domains of knowledge must be learned "in and from their practice." They explain,

> Since such knowledge is situated in practice, it must be learned in practice. To propose otherwise would be like expecting someone to learn to swim on a sidewalk. Reading situations, the moves, the decisions—each of these is contextualized and shaded with subtleties of time, tone, person, topic—and it is in the unique combinations of these that the professional knowledge that we have been discussing can be created. Professional development could be sub-

> stantially improved if we could develop ways to learn and teach about practice in practice (Ball & Cohen, 1999, p. 12).

Their language calls to mind *phronesis*, for it is focused upon the perceptual and on the particular. Ball and Cohen further argue that the concept of "in practice" implies that those in the profession have both a shared understanding of which practices are most essential as well as publicly developed standards for what comprises good performance. Third, they claim that learning "in and from practice" calls for a "pedagogy of investigation" (p. 13). Features of this pedagogy include strategic documentation of practice; promotion of and tolerance for disequilibrium; systematic attention to and analysis of student thinking; a discourse of conjecture, interpretation, and critique; and a community of practitioners.

Ball and Cohen's proposals to locate teacher's development "in practice" and to develop a "pedagogy of investigation" are conceptually consistent with realistic teacher education and with Dewey's understandings of the aims of theory and practice. Though the proposal lacks a specific psychological model of teacher learning, such as that elaborated by realistic teacher education, it draws attention to a much-needed shift in the cultural norms of the teaching profession. Making teacher's practice public and open for scrutiny is a radical change, but one that is needed to transform a practitioner's knowledge base into a professional one (Hiebert et al., 2002). Finally, their proposal, like realistic education, places significant expectations on teacher educators. Ball and Cohen assert,

> In addition to being insightful students of practice themselves, these teacher developers would need to understand teachers as learners and have a repertoire of ways to engage different teachers in fruitful professional learning. They would need to be good listeners, so they could hear and respond to the wide range of reactions and stances that teachers might bring to a professional development setting. They would need to be able to establish rapport and trust with a variety of learning professionals, and be able to help them form relationships, even a sense of community, with one another. All of this would depend on extensive knowledge of teaching and learning—of both school students and professionals—and considerable interpersonal skill (Ball & Cohen, 1999, p. 28).

All three conceptual essays synthesized in this section take as a given that the aim of education is deep, flexible understanding, and they assume that classroom teacher's practice is integral to that educative process. Collectively, the essays live in the same epistemological camp. They elaborate a shared vision regarding the substance and syntax of teacher's professional knowledge, i.e., *phronesis* or practical wisdom; they articulate the psychological and cultural/socialization challenges associated with learning to practice; they emphasize the importance of context(s) in learning professional practices; and they foreshadow the enormous demands placed on those

who teach teachers. Together, the essays suggest that good teacher education never strays far from the practice itself; though theoretical knowledge, is of value, it must be integrated with, rather than applied to, practice. All three emphasize that learning to practice involves sustained inquiry, a reflective stance; in short, Dewey's call to be a "student of teaching" is lived throughout a professional life. The essays point out that learning to teach requires intellectual abilities that are not necessarily cultivated in prior academic experiences. Finally, in all three, the vision of professional learning promoted has serious implications for both the structure of teacher education programs and the practice of teacher educators. Though reforms that address structural aspects of teacher education programs are essential, I focus in the next section upon teacher educator's practice.

ASPECTS OF TEACHER EDUCATORS' PRACTICE THAT MATTER

I extend the arguments reviewed in the previous section and apply them to outline four important aspects of teacher educator's practice that make a difference in his or her ability to help candidates perform in ways that are educative: knowledge, pedagogy, discourse, and manner. Taken together they suggest why teaching teachers is a daunting endeavor.

Knowledge

There is no way around this fact: Good teacher educators must have command of an astonishingly broad terrain of knowledge about education. As a starting point, they must have knowledge about school-based teaching/learning that is of the *phronesis* type. That is, they must be able to discern with fine attention the particulars in situations, to determine when a situation is routine or non-routine, to parse those routine responses/actions into efficient steps, to make explicit the reasoning and deliberations behind a chosen course of action, to explain why a choice of action is the most proper in that situation. In addition to this practical wisdom, however, they must also understand and evaluate epistemic knowledge that shapes present understanding of learning and our systems of education. They must know the substantive organization of domains of epistemic knowledge and the rules of evidence by which epistemic knowledge is indeed generated. They must possess a meta-cognitive knowledge of how they know what they know; in terms of realistic teacher education, they must unpack the content of the gestalts they have formed and how those relate to epistemic knowledge. Finally, if all that weren't enough, they must also understand the needs of adult learners, the developmental learning

process of becoming a teacher, the social-psychology of group dynamics, and they must know about curriculum materials that support reflection in and upon practice (e.g., appropriate exemplars, artifacts, and cases). In sum the good teacher educator's knowledge base traverses many domains; moreover, teacher educators must hold this knowledge in different forms (conceptual/practical, epistemic/*phronesis*, paradigmatic/narrative) and be able to move fluently in and out of different registers.

Pedagogical Repertoire

Russell (1997) observes in the title of an excellent essay, "Teaching teachers: How I teach IS the message." He offers us a provocative statement. Given that a teacher educator's actual pedagogy is a substantive part of the curriculum, a second aspect of teacher educator's practice is the range, depth, and character of his or her pedagogical repertoire. With regard to range, a good teacher educator is able to model expertly teaching practices as they are accomplished in the company of children/youth (e.g., writing workshop, inquiry-based science labs, socratic seminars, etc.); in addition, the repertoire includes pedagogical moves that scaffold candidate's perceptual discernment, inquiry, and critical reflection. In short, they must have a sophisticated repertoire that encompasses both a pedagogy of understanding in the school subjects and a pedagogy of investigation/reflection for teacher education. Good teacher educators show depth in their repertoire when they can enact many and varied approaches that respond to needs of diverse learners, both child and adult learners. Finally, good teacher educator's practice is consistent in its character; in other words, the practices modeled and encouraged through reflective activities are consistent the most current learning theory, consistent with images of democratic classrooms, and consistent with inclusive, culturally-responsive views of practice.

Discourse of Annotation and Reflection

A third aspect of good teacher educator's practice is the ability to provide a thick, running commentary on his or her practice and to scaffold such commentary on the part of candidates. The teacher educator's practice is in fact a shared reference point for all. Offering a discourse of annotation and reflection is in some regards merely one approach within a teacher educator's pedagogical repertoire, yet I find it so essential to promoting teacher learning that I highlight this pedagogical move. Through this move, the teacher educator voices the inner speech/thought that

shapes professional judgments. As an analogy (with due acknowledgement to Schön), imagine what it would be like, as a novice, to listen to an experienced architect comment while creating working drawings; such commentary would provide insight into the subtle discriminations the more expert practitioner makes, the balance between aims and outcomes within the particular constraints of the task, the choices made as they are weighed against professional standards of excellence. If the quality and character of one's professional judgment are the hallmarks of a good practitioner, then new candidates need opportunities to listen to teacher educators exercise and even develop that judgment. Repeated exposure to this kind of commentary also reinforces the norm that practice must be examined publicly by members of a community of practitioners.

Providing a thick and running commentary involves pausing in action, displaying publicly one's practical reasoning, then resuming action, thus resembling Schön's "reflection-in-action." Or, it can be offered some time after events have occurred, like Schön's "reflection-on-action." What is important is that the commentary addresses a lived experience that the teacher educator and candidates have shared. Such think and running commentary has the potential to go awry; for instance, musing aloud in front of a group about how to connect with a resistant candidate or how to encourage a domineering candidate to listen could backfire. Yet, if handled delicately and thoughtfully a discourse of annotation and reflection makes visible and accessible to candidates what they may not be able to unravel for themselves if they merely experience elegant practice.

Manner

As with teachers in p-12 contexts, teacher educator's sense of vocation (Hansen, 1995) plays a significant role in shaping the learning experience. Candidates hone in on teacher educator's manner. Fenstermacher (1999) offers a helpful definition: "Manner encompasses those traits and dispositions of the teacher that reveal his or her character as a moral or intellectual being" (1999, p. 2). Teacher candidates notice and value traits such as passion, care, tolerance, respect, fairness, open mindedness, genuineness; conversely, they resent displays of control, arrogance, and hypocrisy. They value those teacher educator's who are intellectually demanding and who are able to communicate the moral dimensions of their aims and practice. On the one hand, it seems so obvious to draw attention to manner, for if you listen in the hallways, it is a fixture of teacher candidates' conversations about their experiences in teacher education courses; on the other hand, I raise the notion of manner because I so seldom hear teacher educator's talk about their work in terms of the impact of their manner on the candidate's learning. Teacher educator's manner is a focal element in the

curriculum, for through it candidates have a window onto the culture of the profession, e.g., attitudes toward bureaucracy, resolving conflict in constructive ways that deepen collegial relationships, how one lives out both the darker and lighter shades of vocation. Teacher educator's manner indeed matters.

For a teacher educator to be masterful in all four aspects is, in my experience, rare. I advance these four not to promote an evaluative standard, but rather to stimulate dialogue about what are common, definitive aspects of good teacher educator's practice. The four outlined serve as a starting point for such a dialogue; they also provide a possible conceptual framework to study teacher educator's practice and how it shapes candidate's learning.

PRACTICING WHAT WE TEACH: A PATHWAY TO REFORM IN TEACHER EDUCATION

To conclude, I offer a modest proposal: Substantive attention to teacher educator's practice is a pathway to reform in teacher education. The preceding sections have laid out the kind of professional knowledge teachers need, the ways in which it is learned, and four aspects of teacher educator's practice that matter. The structures of many teacher education programs have evolved in ways that make it difficult to learn to practice, especially in the ways that they fragment professional knowledge in the sequence of courses and in the separation one finds between school and university experiences. Though most recent proposals to improve teacher education offer a mix of conceptual and structural reforms (Tom, 1997), some of the most recent proposals are aimed directly at structural features, e.g., making teaching a clinical profession (Hinds, 2002) or building up more professional development schools (Pritchard & Ancess, 1999). I argue that even if we build teacher education programs differently, if we do not attend to the development and practice of teacher educators, such structural reforms are not likely to realize their full potential.

Substantive attention to teacher educator's practice will involve a stronger research base on the nature and impact of good teacher educator's practice. For example, we need to understand more fully which pedagogical moves are most effective at provoking candidate's learning, how teacher educators learn to enact a sophisticated pedagogy of investigation/reflection, how teacher educators draw upon their understanding of the needs of adult learners to guide their pedagogical moves. It will also involve far more serious attention to the preparation of teacher educators. At a minimum, schools of education can be more systematic and thorough in how they support and mentor their doctoral students and their junior faculty whose primary teaching assignments are in courses for teacher can-

didates. It will also mean that schools of education examine carefully the multiple demands placed on its faculty who are most involved in teacher preparation (Ducharme & Ducharme, 1999). For teacher educators to develop, they will need both the expectation and the time to apply to their teaching the kind of discipline and rigor they give to their scholarship. Substantive attention will have the benefits of renewing the passion and vocation of teacher educators, for in matters of teacher preparation, the teacher educator's practice matters. Profoundly.

NOTES

1. I realize that this focus on those teaching in foundations and methods courses directs attention away from many essential players involved in the preparation of teachers, i.e., classroom teachers who invite teacher candidates into their rooms, often for extended time periods; faculty in arts and sciences courses who help shape candidate's understandings of academic disciplines and ways of thinking; and even the candidate's elementary and secondary teachers who are often influential in candidates' decision to choose teaching as well as in the images of practice they seek to emulate. This focus also assumes that university-based teacher educators will play a decisive, though not exclusive, role in teacher preparation, for they have dedicated themselves to in-depth study of the extensive knowledge base of the teaching profession. What distinguishes professional preparation from apprenticeships is the recognition that it is the development of a robust understanding of the profession's knowledge base.

2. Several notable exceptions, however, are *The Lives of Teacher Educators* (Ducharme, 1993), *Teachers Who Teach Teachers* (Russell & Korthagen, 1995), *Teaching about Teaching* (Loughran & Russell, 1997) and the three-volume set of case studies of excellent teacher education programs (Darling-Hammond, 2000).

3. It is essential, however, to understand that Dewey's use of "scientific" is markedly different than current US policy calling for practice that is grounded exclusively in "scientifically-based research." At the time that Dewey wrote this essay Thorndike had not yet prevailed in transforming the field of education into a "scientific" one, where research designs from the physical sciences were the model for all educational research, e.g., isolation and control of variables, randomized trials, etc. In Dewey's view, a theory more closely resembled what current educators might call a principle that reliably guides action toward the proper aims of education; it was not rigidly deterministic, for there was always room for critical examination when a principle failed.

4. Alan Tom (1997) offers another model that has merit. He argues for an inversion of the typical pattern: He suggests that teacher candidates should begin with thoughtfully supported student teaching, thereby creating a context for university-based courses that follow.

5. Korthagen and Kessells point out that this term was coined originally by Donald Schön (1987).

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CHAPTER 3

STANDARDS IN AMERICAN INDIAN/ALASKAN NATIVE EDUCATION
Preparing Native and non-Native Teachers for Variable Contexts

Denis Viri

For a subject worked and reworked so often in novels, motion pictures and television, American Indians are . . . the least understood and the most misunderstood Americans of us all
—President John F. Kennedy (1963).

OPENING VIGNETTE

As a teacher new to a school located in a growing California suburb, Ms. Farley was initially surprised at the ethnic mix that she met her first day of class. After some weeks—owing to the teasing of other children in the class about their ethnicity—she became aware that three children in her class

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were American Indians; she had assumed they were Mexican-American. She later observed that these three Indian fifth-graders were not progressing beyond their already low reading and math scores on standardized tests administered prior to the beginning of classes. Further, the children seemed shy and withdrawn. Ms. Farley checked with the school counselor and learned that two of the children had recently come from North Dakota with their parents, and that the other had been attending the school for several years and was from a reservation in Arizona. Little else was known about their background, although records from previous schools indicated they had functioned as above-average learners.

Drawing on her recent teacher training, Ms. Farley approached the students' low performance as a combination of the effects of inadequate classroom socialization and language deficit. She requested a full assessment of the children for special education placement and instituted measures to help them "fit-in" to a classroom environment that promoted competition between students for grades, special recognition, and other rewards. During the Thanksgiving season, she invited the Native students to play the part of "Indians" in a class play about Pilgrims and Natives during the American colonial period.

The mother of the two children from North Dakota attended a parent conference with Ms. Farley and indicated that they had been top students in a Lakota language and cultural immersion program, which was offered as part of the curriculum in their previous school. She also expressed surprise that the children seemed so poorly motivated in their current school placement because they had always been such eager students in their home community.

Ms. Farley became concerned when the absences of all three children progressively increased. As the academic year ended, they lagged far behind all other students academically. However, except for a few, Latino students, comprising 40% of the class population, had also fared poorly in terms of overall class performance and standardized test scores. In discussing the low performing students with the school principal, Ms. Farley agreed with his assessment that there appeared to be a lack of cultural and social stimulation in the home lives of the children that is needed to support the academic skills needed to function competitively in the classroom. The principal noted that a recent initiative enacted in California had banned bilingual education, so in consultation with the Board of Education, an extensive academic remediation plan was being developed for implementation the following year.

INTRODUCTION

There are about 533,000 American Indian and Alaska Native children attending public schools in the United States (National Center for Educa-

tional Statistics, 2001) and another 58,000 attend schools funded by the Bureau of Indian Affairs (Office of Indian Education Programs, 2001). Public schools enroll 90% of K-12 American Indian/Alaska Native children and youth. About 244,000 (46%) of these attend schools where they represent less than 10% of the student population (National Center for Educational Statistics, 2001). While schools serving large enrollments (25% or more) of American Indian/Alaska Native students employ an average of 10% Native teachers (Pavel, 1997) most schools serving lesser Native enrollments have very few or no Native faculty. Although American Indians and Alaska Natives comprise two of the youngest and fastest growing segments of our population, Native teachers comprise just 0.4% of the current teaching force and 1% of those being enrolled in teacher training programs (Alliance for Equity in Higher Education, 2000).

These demographics represent a dichotomy in both the political and social realities of American Indian/Alaska Native education. They also suggest that it may be virtually impossible to achieve the presumably desired goal of an equitable ratio of Native teachers to students in *all* schools serving Native students. On the one hand, the unique historical relationship between Tribal Nations and the United States government is a special federal-Indian relationship. This relationship was shaped by the United States Constitution and treaties with individual Indian Nations. As foundation documents, the United States Constitution and the treaties are the underpinning for the special federal "fiduciary" responsibility for the education of Native learners. Thus, in exercising its trust responsibility to the Tribes, the federal government for many years operated and/or financed an extensive educational system for Native people; most of the recipients living on reservation trust lands. On the other hand—over time, and especially since World War II—this federal trust responsibility has shifted to the States as ever-increasing numbers of Native students became enrolled in state financed schools both on and off reservations. Concurrently, there has been and continues to be a migration of Native peoples to population centers where jobs are available, as well as continued urbanization of non-tribal lands adjacent to many reservations. In the final analysis, this means that federal policy, fiscal support, and involvement—traditionally the mainstay of American Indian/Alaska education—has far less influence on today's Native child or youth than it has in the past. Nationally, the control of education for most Native children and youth is now vested in locally elected school boards and guided by state education policies that usually do not have specific statutes or provisions for the education of Native children.

Most of the existing research and major studies about Native education during the past 50 years, as well as legislation affording Tribes more control over and influence in education, has assumed the federal government has the primary role in Native education. The studies have not taken fully into account the impact of the shift of responsibility of education from the

federal to the state sector. The dilution of Native populations in schools is to the extent that over 50% now attend schools where they are less than 25% of the student population (National Center for Educational Statistics, 2001).

These demographics suggest inequities for most Native students in terms of having access to Native educational professionals who are teachers, administrators, mentors, and role models. However, with Native students so widely dispersed throughout the American public education system, how can educators even begin to respond to this equity issue? Current federal policy is supporting grant-funded initiatives to increase numbers of Native teachers; however, there needs to be a more inclusive approach that responds to the reality of changing demographics. This chapter provides a rationale for continuing to expand the ranks of Native teachers to teach Native children and suggests a professional development model to achieve that end. This chapter also approaches the need for a deeper, more comprehensive, multifaceted reform strategy in American Indian/Alaska Native education that ensures that all Native children receive an appropriate education, even when Native teachers are not available to them. Some of today's reforms embody promising changes that potentially affect learning for *all* students—marginalized populations, especially. The implementation of these reforms has a direct bearing on the way we may potentially recruit, prepare, and socialize teachers for their role in the classroom. Although expanding the ranks of Native teachers should remain a priority, so should teacher preparation be formed around larger reforms that more effectively sensitize and better enable non-Native teachers to meet the learning and developmental needs of American Indian/Alaska Native children and youth, as well as children from other ethnic minority backgrounds.

There are two interrelated fronts concerning the meeting of Native student learning and developmental needs: On the primary front, preparation of teachers needs to truly enliven efforts to support Native self-determination, local control of education, and, especially, community language and cultural goals. This is best built upon a foundation of recruitment and preparation of a corps of teachers who are tribally enrolled members and who originate in the communities in which they will serve. The foundation of this effort is to thoroughly support efforts and create viable academic strategies to preserve and incorporate Native language and culture in the education process. Obviously, this approach rests heavily on the ability to recruit and train teachers who share common linguistic language and cultural assets with the children and youth they will serve. On the other front, there needs to be a broader and more effective multicultural approach in all of teacher education to better sensitize and prepare teachers of any ethnic background to address the needs of an increasingly diverse population of students, many of whom are increasingly American Indian/Alaska Natives.

SELF-DETERMINATION, LOCAL CONTROL, AND NATIONHOOD

Poor student achievement has been documented in all the major studies of American Indian/Alaska Native education during the past century (e. g., Fuchs & Havighurst, 1972/1983; Meriam Report, 1928). Historically and presently American Indian students drop out of school at higher rates than any other ethnic minority group in the country (National Center for Educational Statistics, 1994).

Dismal achievement rates and deplorable conditions found in many schools serving American Indian/Alaska Natives children prompted several well-known national studies. A U.S. Senate Report of 1969, *Indian Education: A National Tragedy—A National Challenge*, which echoed many of the findings and problems of the Meriam Report, published 40 years earlier, provided impetus and guidance for passage of The Indian Education Act of 1972 (PL 92-318 as amended), and, in 1975, for the Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act. Since passage of this legislation, Native-led efforts to improve the quality of education have focused both on improving their children's traditional knowledge (heritage languages and cultures), as well as academic performance.

The passage of these historic acts and the voices of Native educators who promoted them have created a better understanding of the condition of Native education and what is deemed necessary to improve it. The interest in improving educational opportunities for American Indians/Alaska Natives has expanded and intensified during the last decade of the twentieth century. A series of investigations, reports, and initiatives was generated, including the U.S. Department of Education report, *Indian Nations At Risk: An Educational Strategy for Action. Final Report, October 1991* and a follow-up report of the White House Conference on Indian Education in May 1992.

The At Risk Task Force identified four reasons why Indian nations are at risk as a people:

1. failure of schools to educate large numbers of Indian students;
2. erosion of Native languages and cultures;
3. threats of further reduction of Native lands and natural resources; and
4. challenges to Indian self-determination and governance by changing federal policies and court decisions.

The Task Force presented a strategic framework for improving schools that included five major strategies:

1. developing comprehensive education plans that utilize federal, state, local, and tribal resources;

2. creating local partnerships for schools;
3. emphasizing national priorities related to parent-based early childhood education, promotion of tribal language and culture, training of Native teachers, and strengthening of tribal community colleges;
4. creating mechanisms of accountability; and
5. fostering understanding of the relationships between tribes and government.

An ensuing Executive order signed by President Clinton affirmed that the federal government has a special, historic responsibility for the education of American Indian and Alaska Native students (Executive Order 13096 of August 6, 1998). It provided a mechanism for funding and directed federal agencies to work together to implement the five strategies of the Indian Nations At Risk Task Force.

The Task Force, White House Conference, and ultimately, the Executive Order reinforced both the federal role in Indian Education and the doctrines of Self-Determination and community control as created in the earlier legislation. In broad brushstrokes, their processes identified the problems, posed solutions, and established priorities to better meet the educational needs of Native children while supporting self-determination. It propelled an appropriate federal response, conceptualized around the historic relationship of the federal fiduciary responsibility to Native Nations, as well as the assumption that it would affect all of Native America. While this has been an extremely productive series of steps and strategies, its greatest impact is being felt in "Indian country," where there are large (25% or more) populations of Native students in federally supported, public, and tribally controlled schools. It is proving to have less impact on the majority of Native students who are now attending schools where they are a small and often invisible population.

MAINSTREAM PUBLIC EDUCATION—THE NEED FOR AN ARTICULATED APPROACH FOR EDUCATING NATIVE CHILDREN AND YOUTH

The federal government currently provides Indian education formula funding to any public school that applies for it, which maintains a population of enrolled tribal members. The Johnson O'Malley Program (JOM) is designed to meet the specialized and unique educational needs of eligible American Indian students attending public schools, providing funds to supplement the regular school program. JOM programs are used for tutoring, academic support, cultural activities, summer education programs, and after-school activities. The United States Department of Education also provides another per capita entitlement funding source to public

schools under the Improving America's Schools Act, Title IX, Indian Education Act Public Law 103-382 to "meet the unique academic and cultural needs of Indian/Native students." These funds are used primarily to help Native students meet State content and student performance standards that apply to all students.

While these programs represent a fiscal and policy bridge between federal responsibility and public school efforts to better serve Native children, the formulaic nature of them is weighted according to population. Thus, Native students attending schools where they comprise a small population are much less affected than high Indian enrollment schools. Also, these programs allocate funds for tribally enrolled students, and do not serve the many Native students who are not tribally enrolled.

While the formula programs can be helpful in schools with large Native enrollments, the challenge is to seek change and improvement within an overall framework of multicultural education, but with an end goal of meeting the specific learning needs of *all* American Indian/Alaska Native children. If educators are to reach these children in meaningful ways, their unique history, linguistic backgrounds, and cultures must be thoroughly understood before a truly responsive approach to them can be enacted. Most of all, educators must approach this challenge with a wary eye to the numerous and pervasive stereotypes that exist in mainstream culture concerning American Indian/Alaska Natives. The cultures of Native America today are vibrant, living, and adaptive. Curriculum and the teaching-learning interaction that takes place in classrooms must reflect this reality and not be based in a false legacy generated by the dominant society and perpetuated in popular media during the past century.

CULTURAL DIFFERENCES AND LEARNING

Traditional systems of American Indian/Alaska Native education—used to transfer skills and knowledge from one generation to the next—developed over thousands of years. In these systems, the teacher treated failure as a necessary part of learning. The family, clan, tribe, and responsible mentors worked with the youth until the information or task was clearly learned, sometimes after considerable repetition. The lessons were an integrated part of daily life and ceremonies, not a separate or isolated activity associated with formal education (Demmert, 2001). While many of these traditional systems for educating the youth of a tribe have been replaced by formal schooling, they remain highly influential in the life ways and learning styles of Native people. As Native peoples continue to resist assimilation, these influences can remain pronounced in some cases and may contribute to lowered academic performance, school leaving, and other

education-related problems when they conflict with the expectations and processes of schools.

Of primary importance is the cultural distinctiveness that many Native children bring to school with them. It is supported in the homes and communities of the children and, though varied according to region and tribal group, needs to be thoroughly understood and interpreted into responsive curricula and teaching strategies that grasp such distinctiveness.

Cultural differences between Native communities and those represented in the schools that serve them often function in discontinuity, greatly affecting the intended purposes of the schools. Parents and community members are often frustrated with low performance, truancy and other indicators that may be linked to mismatches in school and community culture. It appears that such mismatches may be rooted in a more universal phenomenon. The western worldview seems to serve in counter position to that of the great majority of people who are native to the land where the dominant, western culture has taken precedence.

Based on studies of various Indigenous groups around the world, Suzuki and Knudtson (1992) formulated a comparative typography of Indigenous and Western Worldviews (Table 1). Often, these differences are most striking in the curriculum and instructional methods used with Native children when the school is controlled by Non-natives. In such schools, a one-sided world-view denotes a lack of cross-cultural understanding on the part of school personnel. It is certain to create various forms of conflict in the classroom. Suzuki and Knudtson 's comparisons closely approximate those of most American Indian/Alaska Native belief systems, as they exist in contrast to the mainstream. While there is, of course, some variation, elements of these Indigenous belief systems remain intact in most American Indian/Alaska Native communities.

The standardization and compartmentalization inherent in many features of Western forms of organization—such as would typically be found in mainstream public schools—often exist in opposition to social structures and practices in Indigenous societies. In contrast to Western forms of organization, Indigenous societies tend toward collective decision-making, extended kinship structures, ascribed authority vested in elders, flexible notions of time, and traditions of informality in everyday affairs. It is not surprising that formal educational structures, which often conflict with Native ways of being, have created a context of miscommunication and failure for many Native American/Alaska Native traditional communities.

More specific to American Indian/Alaska Native populations, Gilliland (1986) identified eight sociocultural factors as potentially responsible for poor academic achievement and attrition of American Indian/Alaska Native students from schools. Most of these are a reflection of the effects in schools of differing worldviews described above:

- differences between native culture and school culture;

TABLE 1
Contrast of Indigenous and Western Worldviews

Indigenous Worldviews	*Western Worldview*
Spirituality is imbedded in all elements of the cosmos.	Spirituality is centered in a single Supreme Being.
Humans have responsibility for maintaining harmonious relationship with the natural world.	Humans exercise dominion over nature to use it for personal and economic gain.
There is a need for reciprocity between human and natural worlds. Resources are viewed as gifts.	Natural resources are available for unilateral human exploitation.
Nature is honored routinely through daily spiritual practice.	Spiritual practices are intermittent and set apart from daily life.
Wisdom and ethics are derived from direct experience with the natural world.	Human reason transcends the natural world and can produce insights independently.
Universe is made up of dynamic, ever-changing natural forces.	Universe is made up of an array of static physical objects.
Universe is viewed as a holistic, integrative system with a unifying life force.	Universe is compartmentalized in dualistic forms and reduced to progressively smaller conceptual parts.
Time is circular with natural cycles that sustain all life.	Time is a linear chronology of "human progress."
Nature will always possess unfathomable mysteries.	Nature is completely decipherable to the rational human mind.
Human thought, feelings and words are inextricably bound to all other aspects of the universe.	Human thought, feeling and words are formed apart from the surrounding world.
Human role is to participate in the orderly designs of nature.	Human role is to dissect, analyze and manipulate nature for its own ends.
Respect for elders is based on their compassion and reconciliation of outer- and inner-directed knowledge.	Respect for others is based on material achievement and chronological old age.
There is a sense of empathy and kinship with other forms of life.	There is a sense of separateness from and superiority over other forms of life.
Proper human relationship with nature is viewed as a continuous two-way, transactional dialogue	Relationship of humans to nature is viewed as a one-way, hierarchical imperative.

Source: Suzuki and Knudtson, 1992, pp. 13-15)

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- ignorance of native culture among school staff;
- differences between students' and teachers' values;
- differences in native students' learning styles;
- poor motivation of Indian students;
- language differences of students and teachers;
- students' home and community problems; and
- inappropriate use of tests with Indian students.

While differences in worldviews create a backdrop for conflict in the schooling of American Indian/Alaska Native and other minority students, these differences also come to bear in the larger social dynamics of society. Ultimately, reaction to these differences can evolve into institutionalized racism. American Indian/Alaska Native students often report experiencing not only isolation in urban public schools, but racism at both personal and institutional levels. The Indian Nations At Risk hearings, held across the U.S., documented Native concerns about many interracial, interethnic, and intercultural impediments in urban public schools (Charleston & King, 1991):

- Native students frequently get categorized and treated as remedial students, thus lowering teacher expectations and increasing the risk of failure.
- Students who identify themselves as Natives often are subjected to taunts and racial slurs that make them feel threatened and ashamed. When they defend themselves against harassment, they often are suspended or expelled. Alienation is a key contributing factor in the high dropout rates.
- Schools resist integrating Native language and culture into the curriculum, even when excellent materials and resources are available. Schools and districts (especially small and rural) often constitute power bases in which there is active resistance to shared decision-making with Native parents and tribes.
- Continued use of Native people as mascots, official symbols, emblems, and namesakes for schools are offensive and demeaning, and perpetuates negative racial stereotypes.

Cultural differences have long been recognized as a factor in the performance of Native children and youth in schools. Recent reforms in Native education have ventured toward greater respect for and appreciation of Native language and culture and the utilization of it in teaching and learning. However, it has also been recognized that differences in culture and world-view are more easily resolved when communities exercise greater control over education and when teachers share a similar background with the children they teach.

A SHIFTING PARADIGM IN NATIVE EDUCATION

In response, in part, to the issues of cultural differences and learning, a movement toward Native community control in education accelerated with the passage of the Indian Self Determination and Educational Assistance Act of 1975. This act recognized the obligation of the United States to provide for maximum participation by Native Americans in federal programs and services to Indian communities, including education.

In instances where greater self-determination and local control of education is being exercised among Native people, the assimilative aspects of education are changing. Native people themselves have begun to rethink their role and seek to blend old and new practices in ways that are more likely to fit contemporary conditions. Demmert (2001) noted that levels of congruency between the culture of the school and the culture of the community served could be an important factor in community support and community attitudes towards the school.

Community attitudes and participation of parents in the educational process appear to be critical elements for teachers to be more successful with Native students. Responsibility for and ownership of schools by parents and other community members are also significantly tied to success of the schools. The actions currently being taken by Indigenous people themselves in communities throughout the world clearly demonstrate that a significant "paradigm shift" toward the integration of Indigenous knowledge systems and ways of knowing is already well underway, with the educational orientation shifting consistently toward an emphasis on the utilization of local knowledge and people in the educational process. As this shift evolves, it is not only Indigenous people who will be the beneficiaries, however, since many of the issues that are being addressed are of equal significance in non-Indigenous contexts (Center for Research on Education, Diversity and Excellence [CREDE], 2002).

Many of the problems that originated under conditions of marginalization have gravitated from the periphery to the center of industrial societies, so the pedagogical solutions that are emerging in Indigenous societies may be of equal benefit to the broader educational community. A prime example of this is the leadership many Indigenous groups are exercising in educating others about the environment.

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES

The paradigm shift in Native-controlled education holds many implications with respect to the orientation of teacher training programs that produce teachers who will ultimately teach American Indian/Alaska Native

children. This must begin with the acknowledgement of the spectrum of diversity existing among American Indian/Alaska Native communities and that each is an iteration of a unique context within a larger one. With this in mind, how do we best go about training teachers—Native or non-Native—to more effectively educate Native children and youth? A sound preparation program needs to be grounded in theories that consider the diversity, history, social conditions, and the current aspirations and goals of American Indian/Alaska Native people.

One theory (Cummins, 1986) acknowledges, in the most general sense, that American Indian/Alaska Native students are a "dominated" societal group that is "empowered" or "disabled" as a direct result of interactions with educators in schools. Insofar as previous educational reforms have been relatively ineffective in reversing American Indian/Alaska Native group school failure, the present theory focuses on the dimensions of school organization that serve to either promote the empowerment of students or to disable them.

According to Cummins, interactions between students and educators are mediated by the implicit or explicit role definitions that educators assume in relation to four institutional characteristics of schools:

1. These characteristics reflect the extent to which native students' language and culture are incorporated into the school program;
2. Indian community participation is encouraged as an integral part of children's education;
3. the pedagogy promoted intrinsic motivation on the part of students to use language actively in order to generate their own knowledge; and
4. professionals involved in assessment become advocates for Indian students rather than legitimizing the location of the "problem" in the students.

For each of these dimensions of school organization, the role definitions of educators are enacted in terms of a continuum that ranges from empowerment to disabling.

As a partner to this notion, the concept of community-based education (Corson, 1999) as defined in relationship to Indigenous cultures is also highly relevant. Essentially, community-based education is a form of social action within a community framework that extends beyond schools as institutions. It allows community members to become self-oriented in the creation of the learning environment that the school offers. Community-based education begins with people and their immediate reality, allowing them to be involved in the shaping of their own futures through the school and other agencies in the community. As part of meaningful educational reform, it focuses on changing oppressive formal structures. This concept closely parallels the aims of Indian self-determination

TABLE 2
A Conceptual Framework for Changing to Community-Based Education

Reform Measures	*Mainstream Pattern*	*Transformed Process*
Governance approach structures	external structures→	community-based internal structures
Program/methods/ goals/structures	consensus/integration→	conflict/transformation
Philosophy of education	homogeneity→	liberating
School culture	assimilation/dominant culture→	bicultural/integration approach and preservation of culture
Language	Non-recognition of the minority language→	minority language preservation and revitalization
Social, economic and political development	Dependent on external structures→	growth of self reliance and self-sufficiency
Retention rates	low→	higher
Community as resource	exclusionary→	inclusionary
Organization	top down→	bottom-up
	formal→	informal
	programmed→	process-based
	institution-centered→	locality-center
	reactive→	proactive

Source: Daigle, 1997

and reflects the major trends in Indian Education policy development over the past ten years. In support of this concept, Daigle (1997) offered a series of integral local reform measures designed to improve Native education. She presents these in the context of a conceptual framework that gauges evolution toward education that respects and incorporates community control, language, and cultural resources (Table 2).

Combined, these theories and frameworks offer a constructive orientation and pathway for the development and implementation of programs that prepare teachers to work with American/Alaska Native learners, as well as the communities in which they live. Properly framed in such programs, these perspectives support an integration of supportive community life ways in the processes of the school.

EDUCATING FOR A MULTICULTURAL REALITY

Cleary & Peacock (1998) noted that for Indian students to succeed, their teachers need systematic training and modeling to help them take account

of the sociocultural processes operating in Indian communities and classrooms. An abundance of research on cultural learning styles (e. g., Rhodes, 1990; Swisher & Dehyle, 1997) confirms the importance of this suggestion. This research demonstrates, for example, that American Indians respond well to cooperative learning and peer tutoring. Indian community leaders also favor teaching students about their tribal culture (Cleary & Peacock, 1998).

A promising link between federal Indian Education policy, community-based education theory, and effective teacher preparation for America's multicultural reality is embodied in the Five Standards of Effective Pedagogy developed by the Center for Research on Education, Diversity and Excellence (CREDE) at the University of California, Santa Cruz (Dalton, 1998). They are based upon research on teaching strategies known to be effective not only with Native students but other "at risk" students. They were distilled from findings by educational researchers working with students considered "at risk" of educational failure due to cultural, language, racial, geographic, or economic factors. The areas of research involved included Cultural Historical Activity Theory (CHAT) and the Cognitive Theory and Cultural Compatibility Theory (Center for Research on Education, Diversity and Excellence [CREDE], 2002). The CREDE standards are particularly well suited to American Indian/Alaska Native education because they offer guidance for designing culturally compatible classrooms and must be adapted to local communities and cultures.

The "standards" are actually consensus statements:

> "...by which we mean ideals that we can all set for ourselves–ideals for best teaching practices. Thus, they express the principles of effective pedagogy for all students. Even for mainstream students, the Standards describe the ideal conditions for instruction; but for at-risk students, the Standards are vital" (Tharp, 1999).

The standards and a description of them are as follows:

> Teachers and students producing together facilitate learning through joint productive activity among teachers and students.

In schools, there is ordinarily little joint activity from which common experiences emerge, and therefore no common context that allows students to develop common systems of understanding with the teacher and with one another. Working together allows conversation, creating a dialogic interaction that teaches language, meaning, and values in the context of immediate issues. Joint activity between teacher and students helps create such a common context of experience within the school itself. This is especially important when the teacher and the students are not of the same background. Joint activity and discourse allow the highest level of academic achievement

Developing language and literacy across the curriculum develop competence in the language and literacy of instruction across the curriculum.

Language development at all levels—informal, problem solving, and academic—should be fostered through use and through purposeful, deliberate conversation between teacher and students, not through drills and decontextualized rules. Reading and writing must be taught both as specific curricula and integrated into each content area. Developing competence in the language(s) of instruction should be a metagoal of all educational activity throughout the school day. Whether instruction is bilingual or monolingual, literacy is the most fundamental competency necessary for school success. School knowledge, and thinking itself, is inseparable from language. Everyday social language, formal academic language, and subject matter lexicons are all critical for school success.

Making meaning contextualize teaching and curriculum in the experiences and skills of students' homes and communities.

"Understanding" means connecting new learning to previous knowledge. Assisting students make these connections strengthens newly acquired knowledge and increases student engagement with learning activities. Schema theorists, cognitive scientists, behaviorists, and psychological anthropologists agree that school learning is made meaningful by connecting it to students' personal, family, and community experiences. Effective education teaches how school abstractions are drawn from and applied to the everyday world. Collaboration with parents and communities can reveal appropriate patterns of participation, conversation, knowledge, and interests that will make literacy, numeracy, and science meaningful to all students.

Teaching complex thinking challenge students toward cognitive complexity.

Students at risk of educational failure, particularly those of limited standard English proficiency, are often forgiven any academic challenges on the assumption that they are of limited ability, or they are forgiven any genuine assessment of progress because the assessment tools are inadequate. Thus, both standards and feedback are weakened; with the predictable result that achievement is impeded. While such policies may often be the result of benign motives, the effect is to deny many diverse students the basic requirements of progress—high academic standards and meaningful assessment that allow feedback and responsive assistance.

Teaching through conversation engage students through dialogue, especially instructional conversation.

Although this concept may appear to be a paradox; instruction implies authority and planning, whereas conversation implies equality and respon-

siveness. But the instructional conversation is based on assumptions that are fundamentally different from those of traditional lessons. Teachers who use it, like parents in natural teaching, assume that the student has something to say beyond the known answers in the head of the adult. The adult listens carefully, makes guesses about the intended meaning, and adjusts responses to assist the student's efforts—in other words, engages in conversation. Such conversation reveals the knowledge, skills, and values—the culture—of the learner, enabling the teacher to contextualize teaching to fit the learner's experience base. When teachers reduce the distance between themselves and their students by constructing lessons from common understanding of each others' experience and ideas, they make teaching a warm, interpersonal, and collaborative activity. Classrooms and schools are transformed into communities of learners through such dialogic teaching.

While the Five Standards articulate both philosophical and pragmatic guidelines for effective education, they do not endorse a specific curriculum but, rather, establish principles for best teaching practices. These practices are effective with both majority and minority students in K-16 classrooms across subject matters, curricula, cultures, and language groups. For a full explanation and guidelines of the Standards, see http://www.crede.ucsc.edu.

Given the compatibility of the CREDE Standards with the intent of federal Indian policy and the theoretical dimensions cited above, these standards are appropriate for any professional development program where Native American/Alaska Native students are an actual or potential target population. The Standards advocate for and readily accommodate local language and community cultural issues.

TEACHERS AS AGENTS OF SCHOOL REFORM

Effective teacher preparation should be grounded in such relevant areas as the CREDE Standards, as well as national education reforms that enable and encourage teachers to build links and bridges with the communities they serve. Such grounding, of course, must necessarily be linked to the overall *quality* of preparation. When Native children rank among the lowest in academic performance, their teachers need to come from amongst the most well prepared candidates. However, significant numbers of Native children are adversely affected by urban and rural practices of hiring under-certified or non-certified candidates. The vast majority of these lesser-prepared teachers are placed commonly in the toughest of teaching conditions, where students have the greatest academic needs, and funding is usually in short supply (Darling-Hammond, 1994a, 1994b).

David Beaulieu (1991) noted that school wide reform should not be viewed as the end product of any particular approach. Rather, reform should be viewed as the constant enabling of change, development, or enhancement. In school districts with Native learners, broad-based change, though initiated in the interests of Native learners, should have positive effects on the ability of these systems to define and respond to the needs of all local constituents. Informed, sensitive teachers are potential enablers of change and their training should provide the necessary insights and methods to best accomplish it.

A school curriculum that promotes the language and culture of the community or tribe served—adopted in partnership with that community—holds significant promise for improving academic performance of Native children. This finding has been reported in both policy studies and research and evaluation studies for many years. In policy studies and investigations, inclusion of Native languages and culture in the curriculum of schools serving American Indian/Alaska Native students were first recommended to study and implementation in the Meriam report of 1928 (Prucha, 2000) and was later a major theme of the U.S. Senate Report (1969) entitled, *Indian Education: A National Tragedy—A National Challenge.* The heightened inclusion of Native language and culture in school curriculum was strongly highlighted in the Indian Nations At Risk Task Force report (1991) and the White House Conference on Indian Education (1992). No school reform effort related to Native youth is truly viable where Native students are concerned without dealing with the issues of language and culture.

Further, the Department of Education's Indian Nations At Risk (INAR) Task Force (1991) and the White House Conference on Indian Education (1992) related some of their findings to Native students who attend public schools. These findings—produced in early 1991 and 1992, respectively—suggest systemic reforms that would

a. foster intercultural harmony in schools,
b. improve teacher preparation,
c. develop instructional curricula and strategies that support diverse cultural needs and learning styles,
d. include American Indian/Alaska Native parents in the educational process, and
e. adopt a new paradigm for evaluation of American Indian/Alaska Native student progress and success.

Often, these policies compete with other national and state reform movements that would impose generic "basic skills" and content standards. Rarely, if ever, do these generic standards reflect national policy elements specific to American Indians/Alaska Natives such as those referred to in the Native American Languages Act of 1990. In schools serving Native chil-

dren, knowledgeable teachers, trained in conjunction with CREDE Standards can exert immense influence in connecting the school to community processes and to the spirit of educational policies directed at improving educational opportunities for American Indian/Alaska Native children and youth.

THE NATIVE TEACHER AS ROLE MODEL AND LINK TO THE COMMUNITY

In the ideal world, all students should have opportunities to be taught by educator role models who are members of their respective reference groups. Teachers are viewed as the most essential link between these aspects of community and the processes of schooling. Swisher and Tippeconnic (1999) noted that the interaction between teachers and learners is the most basic that takes place in schools and is a determinant whether students will persist or not. Where Native teachers are concerned, they add, "A mutually respectful and caring relationship is essential to educational success. We believe that a good teacher is a good teacher, but when there is a good Native teacher, the relationship between Native student and teacher is enhanced" (Swisher & Tippeconnic, 1999, p. 302).

Researchers have found significant differences in the way Indian and non-Indian teachers interact with students. In their microethnographic study of the interactions between teachers and their Odawa and Ojibway students, Erickson and Mohatt (1982) found that an American Indian and a non-Indian teacher exhibited several differences in their modes of directing learning activities in the classroom. The non-Indian teacher exercised control overtly using declarative teacher directives, spotlighting (calling attention to) individual students, and calling direct commands across the room. In the Indian teacher's classroom, control was distributed as a shared quantity; leadership between teacher and students was not compartmentalized. She exercised economy in giving directions, frequently using as few as three words and one gesture to indicate the focal point of the lesson or assignment. Pacing was less rapid in the Indian teacher's room, proceeding slowly and deliberately, without spotlighting individuals. "The Indian teacher had intuitively found ways of accommodating to Odawa principles of communicative etiquette" (Erickson & Mohatt, p. 168).

Such observations highlight the importance of recruiting teachers from among members of the American Indian/Alaska Native community, especially when there is a decided emphasis on incorporating tribal language and culture. Recent studies (Cleary & Peacock, 1998; Willeto, 1999) affirmed the notion that effective Native student learning is most closely associated with grounding in the students' language and culture. Further, it is usually easier and acceptable to the Native community to prepare a

tribal member to become a teacher than it is to teach an outsider the tribal language and culture (Eder & Reyhner, 1988).

The need for Native educators who can serve as positive role models and catalysts for improvement in administration and teaching is pressing, particularly in non-reservation urban and suburban public school systems where Native communities have less direct influence. The presence of Native people in school leadership positions and teaching brings much needed positive role modeling and training in how to design programs for Native students. Efforts to recruit and train certified Native educators for BIA, grant and contract, and public schools on reservations has been relatively successful on some of the larger reservations in Arizona but there remains an enormous need to increase the numbers of Indian teachers at *all* levels and sectors of education. This should be a priority for all schools that serve even small populations of Native children and youth.

Locally controlled, BIA-operated, and reservation-based public schools have all sought to hire more Native teachers and administrators and to engage in local curriculum development. With greater linkage with the community, aided by supplementary funding from federal bilingual programs and other sources, many of these schools now provide initial reading instruction in tribal languages and some effectively teach tribal history and culture. The end result is higher student retention rates and improved academic performance (Dehyle and Swisher, 1997).

TEACHERS FOR URBAN AND SUBURBAN NATIVES

Although federal policy directions over the past 30 years have centered on BIA and High Indian Enrollment (HIE public schools with more than 25% Indian enrollment), the demographic figures presented earlier in this chapter indicate significant and ongoing dispersion of tribal members from reservations to other populated areas. The availability of Native teachers in urban and suburban schools is a tiny fraction of the number needed to serve the growing number of Native students enrolling in them. It is vital that schools serving any measurable percentage of Indian students increase the number of American Indian and Alaska Native administrators and teachers to numbers at least proportionate to student enrollment. However, schools must also seek committed non-Native teachers who have been carefully prepared in their pre-service and in-service programs to work with Native students.

The reality is that in spite of massive recruitment and training of Native teachers, there will never be a sufficient number to meet the needs of the increasing numbers of Native students attending the thousands of public schools across the United States and Alaska. Therefore, in matters of meeting the educational needs of American Indian/Alaska Native students,

teacher preparation programs need to screen, identify, and support non-Native candidates who are especially committed to teaching Native children and youth. These non-Native candidates must be provided a rigorous school site and community-based programs to train and sensitize them.

The growing need for Native role models for students, however, still cannot be underestimated. When Native educators are not available, non-Native personnel need specialized professional development enabling them to work more effectively with increasingly diverse student populations. Research on preparing teachers to teach culturally diverse student populations successfully shows a high correlation between educators' sensitivity, knowledge, and application of cultural awareness information and students' successful academic performance. Brief and superficial training may increase teacher knowledge, but has little or no effect on attitudes or behavior (Sleeter, 1990). In-depth, sustained multicultural training leads to the development of attitudes and skills needed to work with culturally diverse groups in general and American Indian/Alaska Native students in particular.

Well-established characteristics of effective teachers include solid content knowledge, sound pedagogy, an understanding of cognitive development and the different learning stages of children, cultural knowledge and an understanding of the students served, and outstanding interpersonal skills. The research on effective teachers and teaching within the American Indian/Alaska Native community is somewhat limited. What is available is consistent with the research on non-Native teachers. Teacher attitudes about students, knowledge of subject matter, and understanding and knowledge about the culture of students are all shown to promote improved academic performance and student behavior (Yagi, 1985). Rohner (1965) found that teachers that become involved in community activities and spend time with community members could mitigate social and economic factors influencing poor academic performance of students. Kleinfeld (1979) reported that promoting cross-cultural teaching strategies among prospective teachers is difficult to achieve. She suggested that the quality of teachers and teaching may best be improved by a better selection of candidates, instead of by employing cross-cultural strategies in teacher training institutions or by allowing self-selection into programs. In any case, teachers with a demanding but warm teaching style appear to challenge students to work at higher intellectual levels (using or developing higher-order thinking skills).

Teacher preparation programs should help non-Native teachers become aware of the life ways and worldviews of American Indian /Alaska Native people by developing appreciation of Native history, language, culture, and spiritual values. The CREDE Standards serve as an invaluable guide in this respect. Repeated practice, peer coaching, and continuing administrative support help sustain change efforts system- wide. This

should be accomplished in a context that is specific as possible, respecting the variation on the culture, language, and life ways of American Indian/Alaska Native communities.

Cleary and Peacock (1998) described patterns of successful practice that suggest methods and teacher behaviors that are effective with Native students:

a. . . . the need to build trust;
b. to connect with the community;
c. to establish cultural relevance in the curriculum;
d. to tap intrinsic motivation for learning; o use humor;
e. to establish family support;
f. to provide situations that yield small successes;
g. to make personal connections with students;
h. to use highly engaging, activity-based learning and, in some cases, cooperative learning;
i. to provide role models;
j. to be flexible, fair, and consistent; and
k. to provide real audience and purpose for student work (p. 13).

Many of these themes are found in other studies that have been conducted over the past 30 years.

APPROACHING AND IMPLEMENTING A MODEL OF AMERICAN INDIAN/ALASKA NATIVE TEACHER PREPARATION

The practical dimensions of professional development programs for teachers must be aligned with and support the theoretical and philosophical dimensions discussed above. Models for Native teachers and non-Native teachers are suggested here. For Native teachers who are being specifically trained to teach Native children, there are three aspects of program design that can assist teacher trainees with the nature of their interaction in a school setting: These are:

1. field experience occurring simultaneously while enrolled in formal coursework,
2. participation in an organized cohort, and
3. student teaching accompanied by strong mentorship.

These program features provide opportunities for teacher trainees to engage in a discourse concerning issues that are essentially related to the nature of their interactions professionally and otherwise within the school with students and their colleagues.

The model program is primarily field-based, with opportunities for the trainees to interact with teachers and students on a daily basis. Little university coursework is offered at a college campus but instead is offered on site in schools serving significant populations of American Indian/Alaska Native students. The approach of the program is to immerse the participants in "school culture" while facilitating experiences that heighten the participants' awareness and empower them to not only teach well but to also successfully advocate on behalf of American Indian/Alaska Native students and their educational needs. This model is derived from a Native Teacher Preparation program successfully implemented through the College of Education at Arizona State University.

A cohort design is recommended. The program can be offered as a post-bachelor's program or it can be tailored for a cohort of students who have completed lower division general education requirements and can finish their elementary education degree and obtain state certification within two years. Focusing on a cohort at this stage ensures greater commitment and involvement in teacher preparation rather than general education requirements.

Teachers being trained to serve in schools that serve populations of American Indian/Alaska Native children should see themselves as learners who are open to understanding the reasons that children and communities are the way they are, who are willing to discover and consider the differences between school and home cultures, and who are willing to change their ways of teaching to give children a better chance in school and life (Cleary & Peacock, 1998). Given the assumption regarding the social cultural congruence of teacher trainees and the American Indian/Alaska Native students within the schools they are now teaching, even among new Native teachers, there are still areas of potential incongruence or discontinuity that may exist. These areas can exist, despite cases even where teacher trainees and students come from the same community. A discontinuity may arise between the teacher and student because of different generational influences, socially and culturally, or that students within the school are expected to behave by the school in ways that are different within the school than in the community. Areas of potential discontinuity may also exist with regard to the established professionals working within the school and what is expected of teacher behavior by the school.

In order to accomplish the goal of creating the most effective teacher possible, a truly rigorous teacher preparation program is carefully and thoroughly designed. Each course in the program includes focus on and practice in identifying and utilizing the five CREDE Standards, as well as other community-based standards to prepare lessons and develop assessments. This attention to the Five Standards, as well as other appropriate standards that may exist, ensures the necessary attainment of skills for their classroom students and serves as accountability measures for them as teachers. A required assessment course should have a section dedicated to

the interpretation of test scores, so that participants will have a better understanding of the political and practical implications of standardized, criterion-referenced and performance based testing. While this focus is of high importance, program discourse about classroom practices and ways of relating to students that are responsive to and culturally relevant must also be of priority. This type of discourse is typically much less present in current teacher education (Cochran-Smith, 2001).

A focus on the Five Standards, as well as the community-based preparation approach supports efforts to ensure that Native language, culture, philosophy, and community issues are be woven across all content and processes of the teacher education program to accomplish this goal. An integrative seminar can be offered each semester for all the participants designed to measure course content against traditional notions of thought, action, and reflection. The program curriculum specifies a case-study approach for developing a strong foundation in Native social, cultural, and linguistic studies as well as teaching skills. Narratives that describe actual experiences in schools serving Native children and that pose professional, moral, and ethical dilemmas serve as a basis for introducing, analyzing, and evaluating factors and precepts that weave across all aspects of classroom life. A number of these cases have already been written by professionals working in schools on the Navajo Indian Reservation in Arizona, but many more will be experienced and brought in to discussions by program participants via the vast amount of classroom immersion hours. In this sense, the program incorporates story-telling procedures for acquiring foundational understanding about teaching, learning, and curriculum. Moreover, through these procedures, the program positions its participants as active subjects of the learning process, employing language and cultural background concepts that are readily understandable and applicable, rather than as passive objectives of ideas imported from non-Indian settings expressed in a language that is not readily comprehensible.

The program also focuses on building group cohesion and mutual support so that participants maintain maximum contact after they accept teaching assignments. The integrative Seminar that participants take each semester also focuses on the context and dynamics of colonization and the essentials of group member interdependency and mutual support as a response to it.

The model program provides an induction year where the program focuses on building resilience by facilitating group cohesion and mutual support. The program also concentrates on post-professional skills development such as involving the community, research for teaching excellence, and methods to educate and sensitize peers. The use of electronic mail between teachers and the program facilitator also provided considerable personal support through frequent consultations.

Learning to meet the diverse needs of students academically, developmentally, and culturally takes many types of investment on the part of the

teacher: time; study; experience; and dialogue with children, families, and colleagues, to name a few. This model immerses participants within teaching settings, the teacher's life, and in the context of the population they are to serve from the very beginning. In this way, participants have a good length of time and abundant practical experiences to continuously develop their abilities in meeting students' needs. The program design provides for both daily informal feedback opportunities from participants working with teachers to scheduled written feedback submissions from mentors. During the summer component of the program, mentors with high abilities to meet students' needs are hired to share their expertise and act as classroom observers, providing feedback and advice for participants.

For program participants, a major goal is to develop effective teaching abilities through awareness of tribal language and culture and how it impacts the personal and academic development of people in colonized circumstances. The philosophical system of values and beliefs among Native people places human life in harmony with the natural world and universe. This system provides protection in life and creates a path for the development of well-being. For American Indian/Alaska Native youth who will ultimately be served, the goals of this model of teacher preparation are to imbue and promote instructional strategies and approaches that incorporate Native systems of values and beliefs and meaningfully involve parents and community members in classroom life so that Native children develop confident senses of themselves.

A scaffolded model for practice teaching enables program participants to put foundational understandings to actual use in the classroom. Observation, tutoring, peer evaluation, guided practice, and independent practice take place in a spiral fashion over the full course of the two-year or a one-year post-baccalaureate program. In this way, student teaching is extensive and developmental rather than focused and limited to one set of experiences at the end of the course of study, as is traditionally the case in many teacher preparation programs. Also, the many challenging and often conflicting demands of the teaching profession are experienced early on in the project when students have a broad support net of peers and mentor teachers to assist in understanding the complexities facing them as teachers. "Intensive support, continued training, and informative feedback result in higher teacher retention rates for beginning teachers and better instruction for students" (Burstein & Sears, 1998).

The third year induction period is a critical part of this model as it relates to the socialization process that leads to job satisfaction and high levels of performance. Although, responses to their specific group needs are built into all phases of the program, the induction period is a time of great individual attention to each trainee's perceptions and job growth. This period also emphasizes the need to continue one's growth through study, research, and participation in professional activities. Graduates can be encouraged to continue their studies in a part-time master's program.

During this period, the program endeavors to build greater and more constructive relationships with school administrators to ensure that the "effects" of the program are sustained.

This model of teacher training is also invested in system change. In order to do this, an effective teacher education program must build constructive and meaningful relationships with the schools and school districts, especially those that serve populations of *and* have the lowest ratios of Native teachers to students. These relationships can be developed by utilizing these schools as training sites, meeting and delivering workshops to the faculty and administrators, eventually placing teachers there, and doing extensive follow-up work to ensure success. The training of teachers also occurs in schools with well-developed, Native-focused curriculum and language activities in order to promote "cross-fertilization" in schools that do not have such curriculum and programs.

Since Native America is a unique context in and of itself, made even more complex with its plethora of subcontexts defined by linguistic and cultural variation, the model of training should provide a wide range of experiences but also be attentive to the subcontext in which the future teacher will operate. This is best accomplished with extensive and ongoing consultation with the community to be served. A vital part of a preparation model is guiding new teachers in this process of consultation. A community advisory board would be helpful for this purpose.

As well, supportive, instructional, and experiential services all include the elements suggested by Betz and Fitzgerald (in Leong, 1995):

1. career counseling within the cultural context, with counselors being aware of their own and others' cultures;
2. assumptions that all individuals in a culture have the same values, goals, and experiences will be avoided;
3. race and ethnicity must be considered in interaction with gender and class; and
4. the level of acculturation and stage of ethnic identity development should be identified.

Teachers (as well as parents) should also look at students as individuals who are also members of multiple subgroups within the context of the broader society. A more global, inclusive perspective can help all individuals with their career development across the life span.

This approach should help develop competent responsive teachers and will also build the "toughness" and ingenuity needed, especially by Native teachers, and to a significant but lesser extent, non-Natives, to understand and operate within public school culture and still be change agents and effective advocates for Native students.

IMPLEMENTING A MODEL PROGRAM FOR NON-NATIVE TEACHERS

While the model described above can be just as effective when applied to non-Natives being prepared to teach in Native communities or in schools where Native children are just a few, the key is orienting the teacher to the community being served through participatory experiences during the training process. Also, given the increasing multicultural environment in today's schools, the orientation to the Five CREDE Standards may have to be generalized toward a more diverse groups of students, but should still contain some focus on the needs of the Native learners. The issues of Native language and culture should remain threaded throughout the curriculum and field experiences, but the non-Native teacher would be instructed on facilitating rather than actively teaching Native language and culture. An exception might be cases where the teacher is working in close concert with a Native community advisory committee.

The non-Native teacher would be especially prepared on issues of language. If there is a viable tribal language or the community is trying to regain the language, again, the teacher would be taught to work with a community advisory body and to manage community resources needed in the classroom to promote the goal of language revitalization. In instances where a tribal language is no longer viable, and/or where the population of Native children represent multiple language groups, then there are still underlying issues relating to Native culture and tribal language-influenced English dialect use that is related to performance in school. Both Native and non-Native teachers who teach in such a context should be thoroughly oriented to the sociolinguistic dynamics of the speech communities represented in the school and how they should be treated therein for more effective learning and teaching. The Five Standards provide a sensible guide in this respect.

Ideally, prospective teachers, both Native and non-Native, should begin their preparation in classrooms with children on the first day. Whenever possible, their classes and seminars should take place in Native-serving schools and communities where they can be co-taught by community members. The future teachers interact with the community and students continually during their preparation. A community-based approach to teacher preparation should be constructed around the model of Master-Apprentice teacher, offering the opportunity, when available, to pair teacher trainees with American Indian/Alaska Native teachers currently teaching.

CLOSING

The education of all children and youth is more challenging than it has ever been. We live in a complex, globalized environment with instant com-

munications and ever-evolving technology. Within this environment educators are charged with creating access and teaching effective utilization of information and knowledge as a path to critical thinking in a way that is respectful and accommodating to the worldviews of diverse communities of learners. However challenging this may be, the potential rewards are considerable. The cultural richness and creativity inherent in multiple perspectives related to what children learn and the ways in which they are taught is the key to our collective advancement as human beings and for a more harmonious and productive world future. We must invest wholeheartedly in our diversity and multiple perspectives—celebrating and nurturing them—not trying to reduce what we teach and learn into a dull social and intellectual monotone.

American Indian/Alaska Native cultures and people are resources of inestimable value in the pattern of American society and the world community as a whole. Like Indigenous peoples elsewhere in the world, Native peoples maintain a spiritual connection with mother earth, as well as an abiding and respectful guardian relationship with her. Our educational systems and practices must respect and uplift Native communities, affording them the social means and pathways toward full contributive participation in the dynamics and concerns of our human family.

Teachers are brokers of our social investment in humanity. As gatekeepers, they can help build connections among communities, create access and mobility by findings ways to effectively communicate and use knowledge, and to help students build critical thinking and communications skills. Their role is vital, especially in the linkages they can potentially create among people and communities in society.

While federal laws and policies relating to American Indian/Alaska Native education have been designed to right some of the wrongs of the past, they are also meant to provide policy directions for educators, even those who are not directly affected by them. Also, they were not developed as compensatory measures, but rather represent the collective vision and will of the many Native educators and community members who participated in their development over the past 40 years. Combined with appropriate, community-based direction conveyed by the CREDE standards, their intent can serve as a sensible guide for educators in almost any circumstance where Native children and youth as learners are concerned.

While increasing the numbers of Native teachers, and facilitating their roles as agents of change in their communities are highly desirable goals, we must also acknowledge that a good, sensitive, and effective teacher can be a member of any race. While we should provide Native teachers with specialized preparation with respect to issues of language and culture, all teachers should be prepared to more adequately teach to diversity, including American Indian/Alaska Natives. Likewise, methods and standards we use to teach can be well informed by practices that research now shows to

be effective with "at risk" children and youth to the extent that all children may benefit from them.

Finally, we must educate from a community base and structure what is learned and how we teach outward from around that base. This is fundamental to success for American Indian/Alaska Native learners. A good school empowers the community through its own traditional knowledge base while constantly introducing perspectives, information, and technology necessary for functioning successfully anywhere in society. A community's language and culture is the core of that base and teachers in preparation must acquire a thorough understanding of the dynamics associated with them, regardless of their own ethnicity. This approach in education ensures a healthy diversity of perspectives needed for a morally healthy and continually renewing society while still allowing opportunities to converge on a common sense of unity and purpose.

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CHAPTER 4

PARTNERSHIP AND PARTNERSHIP CHANGE IN TEACHER EDUCATION

Elwyn Thomas

INTRODUCTION

The training of teachers in a country X had come under increasing criticism in view of its inability to meet the needs of a changing society. The main criticism centered around the rather insular approach which typified much of current training approaches used in pre-service preparation. In-service programs also did not go unscathed in the critique. This insularity, it was argued by key government personnel and voices from the world of work, was a serious hurdle to improving the quality of education provision. This meant; preparing teachers for a more global situation and the development of new skills and knowledge relevant to the changes that are already taking place. There was clearly a need for a better partnership between those who trained the teachers, the schools in which the training took place, and the changing needs of society especially that of the workplace.

As a result, a group of experts which included, senior educators, a few representatives from industry, community, organizational management,

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and those with computer expertise in learning and teaching, visited a number of different countries on a fact finding exercise. The countries chosen for their visit had either considered or actually introduced an updated version of the partnership principle into their teacher preparation programs during the 1990s.

The group found that the principle of partnership was not a new idea but had existed between schools and training institutions for decades. They also found that there were different types of partnership, depending on how far the interested partners wished to share the task of teacher preparation, and how each partnership type might be the most relevant for a particular education system. The question of costs was also found to be worth examining, as in some partnerships such as school base models, it appeared that not only was training more effective it might also be more cost efficient.

The group also observed that for a partnership to work effectively, it was necessary to clarify the roles of both trainers, trainees, and organizational support personnel so that a desirable but necessary exists *modus vivendi* for all concerned. The group members soon realized that by changing to a new notion of partnership, key issues such as staff equability and institutional status, the redistribution of human and financial resources, assessment, supervision, and accreditation would need to be addressed. Finally, the issues staff development and career prospects would also need to be considered in the light of partnership change.

Changing to a different notion of partnership would not be an easy matter, but letting the *status quo* remain would not be an option either. In some contexts a partnership change worked, while in others it did not. So the task for those government departments entrusted with the preparation of teachers in country X, was to examine the merits of partnership change from the observations made by the team of experts and act accordingly.

With the gist of the scenario painted above for country X in mind, the principal thrust of this chapter is to examine the extent to which the changing notion of partnership in teacher education might provide better opportunities to improve the quality of teacher education. Partnership for the purposes of the present discussion is perceived to be a process of sharing, with certain risks, between two or more parties for the purpose of improving the quality of teaching and the enhancement of teacher development and training in particular (Thomas, 1996). The chapter will include a discussion of the adoption of partnership models in a number of Western and far East countries which reflect the author's research interests and professional experience in those countries.

Generally, state schools cannot avoid the partnership principle, as most governments designate mandatory locations for training teachers. This may also extend in some countries to private schools that may have partnerships with a training college or university faculty. In this chapter, we will examine the changing dynamic of the partnership principle between ele-

mentary and secondary schools, colleges, and training institutions as well as links with sectors such as industry and commerce. Partnership has existed in various forms since the early days of schooling, as the task of training teachers needs the school as the practicum site, while the training institution delivers the necessary academic and professional input.

The main argument which flows throughout much of this chapter is that before a policy of partnership change for the improved training and education of teachers can be successfully realized, key issues will need to be addressed such as the rationale for change, the nature of the context in which a new partnership model will flourish and the implications for staff development, and an understanding of the intergroup dynamics between all stakeholders, in order that partnership change will be as relevant, effective, and efficient as possible.

The chapter will be structured around four key questions relating to the aspirant nature of the partnership principle, and questions which members of our group of experts might ask in the course of their study visit. The questions appear below.

1. Why change the status quo, and what have been the main background factors to previous partnerships between schools and teacher education, which merit a change?
2. What partnership models can be considered that would improve teacher preparation to meet social and global change?
3. How could an understanding of intergroup dynamics between the stakeholders in proposed partnership change, promote effective training?
4. How would partnership change affect teachers' professional development and career prospects?

CHANGING NEEDS AND BACKGROUND INFLUENCES

Let us then imagine ourselves as one the group of experts and try to find out some of the possible answers to question one above. Question one has two main parts, namely why is it necessary to change, and to what extent would any change depend on factors related to a country's social and historical background?

Why Change?

There could be a number of reasons why it is necessary to change existing partnerships in teacher education. First, there may be sound financial

reasons for sharing the costs of training teachers, which have increased substantially in the last few decades in most countries. Many of the costs include administrative and organizational demands that reflect wasted efforts and duplication of tasks on the part of two or more members of a partnership. However the work of Williams (1995), discussed later in the chapter, shows that partnership change does not always result in reduced costs.

Second, the wish to change may be connected to a re-examination of the status and balance between the training institution, and the school or college. As we will see later in this section, the history of teacher preparation has been very one sided, in which the training college or university faculty has called most of the shots. In the overlapping periods of modernism and post modernism, we face a very different set of demands, which highlight the changing perceptions of parents, teachers, and the children they teach each day at school.

In other words, in most Western countries, there has been a power shift from the so-called providers (the government or private bodies, the trainers, and teachers), to the consumers (the students and their parents). However, this situation varies in the nature and extent of a school's commitment to widening the partnership principle. The teachers in fact occupy a dual position in this dynamic, as they play key roles in both providing and consuming. So it is only to be expected that school and college staff wish to exert a greater degree of influence on their own training and education.

Third, the rationale for seeking out a new form of partnership may be related to improving teacher quality, which hopefully would result in more effective classroom teaching. At the core of the argument for wanting this type of change, lies the notion of making teaching and learning more relevant and pragmatic for a society's needs. This may be achieved by developing relevant and working links between school staff, students, and the outside world. It may also be seen as providing students with life skills and preparing them for the world of work and adult life.

Fourth, developing new types of partnership may be associated with the need to have a greater opportunity to enrich the training curriculum and the teaching/ learning process in school, by having a constant exchange of ideas from each of the partners. For instance, a partnership with representatives from industry, a commercial firm or with social and health professionals would provide new ideas and insights, which could form a useful part for both the training regimen and the school curriculum.

A fifth reason for looking at new forms of partnership might be connected with enriching teacher professionalisation by having opportunities to improve teacher qualifications. This would result in widening the prospects for career development, and improve the level of teacher professionalism.

These and other reasons for partnership change maybe tied up with socio-political movements as they were in 1980s Britain. In the British case, the momentum for change came from the Thatcher government, which was intent on introducing market reforms for the whole of society, and this in turn embraced the education sector and particularly the training of teachers. So most of the pre- 1980 teacher education partnerships, were by the end of the 1990s transformed where the school or college became in most cases the major partner, while the training institution, (mostly university faculties of education), the minor one.

In other countries such as Australia and New Zealand, the thrust for change was one of making teacher training more relevant to what was going on in schools and the wider community, although financial issues concerning greater efficiency for the same or lesser amount of money spent on teacher education, one suspects was never far from the surface. In Singapore, the modest change to a more integrated partnership is linked to the emergence of a greater professional role being given to teachers in the practicum, (which was an extension of the system of cooperating teachers widely used in the 1980s and 1990s), and the development of a mentoring system which not only monitored trainee supervision, but is also a step towards improved teacher development, Thomas et al (2001).

Background Influences to Partnership Change

The partnership principle has been a feature of teacher training in most countries for many years. Before the movements for universal elementary education during the 19th century in Europe and America, the schools that existed were mainly linked to religious bodies and to a much lesser extent to the state. At a non-formal level, the guilds and societies of master craftsmen trained young people for skilled apprenticeships and were in effect a form of partnership.

In the early to mid 19th century, school teachers were prepared "on the job" for routine classroom tasks. The use of monitors in training is well known in Britain and America as a method of teacher preparation. This became known as the "monitorial system" The "pupil teacher movement" in Britain, (Dent, 1977) was a development of the monitorial system which continued the "on the job" training model in a slightly more professional manner. For the most part, there was no training curriculum in the monitorial and pupil teacher models. By the close of the 19th century these forms of training were severely criticized and as a result, a process of establishing residential and day teacher training colleges was began (Aldrich, 1990; Cowen, 2002; Dent, 1977).

The notion of partnership was very different then, from what it later became by the close of the 20th century. In those early days, one could

describe teacher training as a useful, necessary and ad hoc - cum benign form of incestuous professional preparation, at least for preparing teachers for the elementary schools. This form of partnership was a very one sided affair, in which the religious or secular body was the main partner, and with teachers under their control. In fact, most teachers in religious schools were nuns, monks, and priests who were committed to instilling into children the Christian values of their faith. This situation is to be expected, as the church employed these personnel professional. The partnership principle at this time had a strong spiritual dimension in which the church was the principal partner, while teachers and students were perceived to have a minor role.

Formal teacher training in Europe and The United States, began in the mid to latter third of the 19th century, which in turn later reflected developments for teacher preparation in the metropolitan countries of British, French, and Lusito-Hispanic colonial parts of Africa, Asia, and Latin America. According to Cowen (2002), the 19th century was marked by struggles over which institutions should train teachers. There were tensions between church and state, and choices to be made between monitorial and pupil teacher models for teacher preparation. The French "ecole normal" model became the main secular model for countries such as Greece, Turkey, Brazil, Argentina, and China. Even in the State of Masschussetts in 1838, we have four normal schools established, although there was some conflict with the community colleges movement and universities, as these normal schools were used as an alternative route to upward mobility, (Herbst, 1989).

The history of Western Education tells us therefore, that religious influences played a key role in the process of schooling. For instance, bearing in mind pervading religious proselytizing influences in most English church schools in the early to middle 19th century, many children of elementary school age for the first time in their lives were taught to read, write, and count. Religious values were either overtly or covertly transmitted on a day to day level, which dovetailed often to those self same values children experienced at home. These and other influences continued to play a not insignificant part when much of teacher training became the responsibility of the State after 1870.

There was a consensus that a correct image of professional conduct was appropriate for elementary teachers even when training became a secular responsibility. This correct moral image of a teacher in training was not only a feature of the British scene, but Curtis (1988) writing about teacher training in (Upper) Canada, and Cubberley's classic work on American Educational History (Cubberley, 1947) points out some basic rules and guidance laid down for the training of North American teachers. By the turn of the 19th century in the United Kingdom, many teacher training colleges preparing teachers for elementary and some secondary schools were run by various Christian denominations, the Church of England being the

main arbiter, but Methodist and some Baptist churches also had their own teacher training colleges in different parts of the country.

This meant that the training curriculum reflected not only the subject content to be taught in class, pedagogy and optional subjects like art and craft, but bible knowledge as well, which was obligatory in many cases. In other Western countries like Germany, France, and the United States however, state control of education and therefore teacher preparation became the order of the day much earlier than it did in the United Kingdom.

However, even in the United Kingdom teacher training for secondary school teachers was starting to become the preserve of higher education. For instance, the University of London began training programs for secondary school teachers in 1902 at a site, which was later to become the London Day College, and the forerunner of the Institute of Education. So teacher education had a new secular partner namely the university, and with this addition a very different order of partnership emerged, in which academic study of content lay alongside professional training. In fact, academic content was viewed as being more important.

The partnership between schools and the training of secondary school teachers at universities at the start provided no real problems. For instance, as long as intending teachers had a sound and thorough training in the subject matter they would be expected to teach, its delivery in class was considered less important. This situation lasted in the United Kingdom and some other Western countries up until the 1980s (Judge, 1994, Taylor, 1990).

However, the dynamic of this partnership began to change, as how content was taught emerged as an issue. In other words, it was becoming clear to educators that it was as important for teachers to know how to teach content, as much as it was to learn and understand the content of a particular subject discipline. Soon the nature of the school-teacher training partnership, which had been in place most of the 20th century, was about to be changed, and changed in some countries profoundly. The notion of partnership assumes a degree of equality between the partners, and it is this assumption that has been challenged over the last decade or so, resulting in cases of crucial changes to teacher education and training. For almost a century and half in Europe and America, colleges and pedagogical faculties were the dominant partners in the training of secondary and primary school teachers. Under these circumstances, the school's role was one of "on site" training with little or no value being put on the professional contribution of school staff to their career development.

Yet the real burden of the partnership was put on the school staff, as they were responsible for most of the day to day running of the practicum. The trainees would be shown how to teach their subject matter, mark attendance registers, show how to achieve class discipline and even carry out extra curricular sporting activities with the pupils. It was again an unequal relationship. In fact it was not a partnership as defined above, but

merely an unpaid training location for Universities and Teacher training colleges. The burden also had a financial as well as a professional dimension to it, with schools receiving little or no financial benefit for their efforts. However, this situation began to change in some countries towards the close of the 20th century, so much so that the nature and variety of training partnerships had by the late 1990s, changed out of all recognition, with the United Kingdom showing the greatest extent of change.

A trend emerged in which the role of the school became increasingly important in making teacher preparation relevant and effective. Moreover, schools and their teaching staff experienced for the first time a sense of ownership of the training process. So was born the notion of a mainly school based teacher education partnership. In Britain, financial support by government was made directly to schools which were involved in such a partnership change. For instance, Teacher Tutors (TTs) or Cooperating Teachers (CTs) were given an extra allowance for their assistance during the practicum. In cases where a TT or CT had several trainees to supervise, the allowance reflected the heavier staff workload

The new school based partnership notion influenced the life long prospects for teacher development as the more experienced teachers were recognized as trainers alongside university teacher educators. This recognition was the start of a long overdue enhancement of a TT or CT's professional status. There were also changes in the type of partners involved in the training process. For instance, teacher training was perceived not only to be a matter between schools on one hand and colleges/universities on the other, but of equal importance to the community and the world of work as well. So we see partnerships emerging between school and community, or between schools and industry in which teacher preparation could be influenced from outside the teaching profession. These changes envisaged new notions for an improved mode of training, linked to different models of partnership would be worth investigating with the aim of improving educational quality.

The group of experts having examined the reasons for partnership change, and the information that they gleaned about some of the factors, which formed a backdrop to the development of previous, and existing teacher education partnerships, they then proceeded to find what other partnership models were being used in the countries they visited.

LOOKING FOR SUITABLE PARTNERSHIP MODELS

In this section of the chapter I will discuss the second question, which our group of experts wished to address. There are two parts to this question, first, what partnership models are on offer and how suitable are they for a particular national context?

Alternative Partnership Models

The group of experts found that it was possible to identify at least four models that at present operate in the United Kingdom and other countries. These are:

- uni-dimensional
- equivalence (or complementarity)
- integrated
- reciprocal

The uni-dimensional model is largely dominated by higher education and consists of a "placement" approach to school. While this model was principally a teacher preparation model, there were variations in structure and organisation (Thomas, 1997). Some of the forms of the uni-dimensional model provided limited opportunities for school staff to attend training in the higher education institution, but this was not an universal feature of the model. In the United Kingdom, the Local Education Authorities (LEAs) would also be brought in to advertise job opportunities for the trainees when they had completed their training. In this model, all aspects of training were the exclusive preserve of the training institution, with not more than 15% of the training period spent in schools. The experts observed that this model was similar to the one used in Country X.

The equivalence (or complementarity) model is a move towards a closer partnership between school and the training institution, where the balance of time spent in school increases considerably to 30 - 40%. Again, the equivalence partnership is concerned with mainly Initial Teacher Training (ITT), and there is a much greater degree of role sharing between school staff, and the staff of the training institution as far as supervision, planning, course content, and methodology are concerned. Mainly the staff of the training institution covers the teaching content and educational disciplines. However, an additional feature of this model was the involvement of Higher Education Institutions (HEIs) in INSET courses for the partner schools and colleges, in a closer and more responsive manner than had hitherto not been the case. In some cases, this type of partnership resulted in updating methods of trainee assessment, a more detailed examination of subject content, and attempts to make educational theory fit more effectively with classroom practice. This model became dominant in the 1980s, and in Britain its adoption was associated with government policy towards more school based ITT and INSET (Taylor, 1990).

The integrated model is characterized by a closer shared arrangement for ITT and INSET. The use of the model in Britain, reflected government accreditation procedures and criteria for ITT. As far as INSET is concerned, the integrated model provides more opportunities for cooperation

between schools, colleges, and universities of the type that would be beneficial to the practice of education. However, it remains to be seen whether this type of partnership model will encourage research activities which explore theoretical problems associated with pedagogy, and whose resolution would ultimately improve the quality of teaching.

The integrated model however, appears to provide a better basis for both ITT and INSET in quality control and good practice, with the improvement of staff development as a spin off. Nevertheless, the problems associated with this model especially as far as professionalisation and school management are concerned, are complex. Of particular concern, are resolving problems related to the joint nature of decision making, affecting trainee accreditation and assessment as well as the nature of joint tutoring, between school and HEI staff.

Furlong et al (1994) presented a further set of sub models for an integrated model of partnership, in which they distinguished between two types of partnership. One was HEI lead, and the other was Jointly Lead Agendas (JLA), with weak and strong versions of both. Another issue relating to the integrated model of partnership and pointed out by Foreman–Peck (1997), is that the more integrated teacher education becomes, where the school is the dominant partner, the more likely the "user-provider" parameter will dictate how teacher professionalisation will develop. Incidentally, Foreman-Peck thinks that such a situation would be to the detriment of the profession in the long run, a position to which this author concurs. There is a danger that school dominated partnership roles may give rise to narrow and parochial forms of professionalism. Another issue is that an integrated partnership would be costly. According to Williams (1995) a wholly school based training for teachers would be two and half times more expensive than a college based scheme.

The reciprocal model of partnership is in reality a further development of the integrated model described above. The reciprocal approach operates across a wide range of professional and educational activities, and involves not only partnership between schools and higher education, but also between school clusters and even between higher education clusters as well (Glenny & Hickling, 1995). The model provides opportunities for partnerships to flourish within localities which have a rich variety of expertise in a number of non-education sectors e.g., health care, community needs, vocational, and technical training. This model is also envisaged as a form of public service, requiring professional training for staff, who not only teach in one school or college but also would find a niche in other parts of the education service and the wider community

The reciprocal model represents the widest and most sophisticated view of partnership to date, yet its implementation is embryonic, apart from a few cases in the UK. It holds some valuable potential for cross fertilization of ideas and practices between institutions, and it would certainly open up horizontal as well as vertical directions in terms of staff development within

and across institutions. However, organizational and administrative problems would be considerable. There is also the danger that too much institutional cross fertilization might defeat the principal aim of partnership, which is to improve teaching and learning with the least amount of risk complexity and high cost.

Model Suitability and Contextual Factors

It became clear to our group of experts that it was unlikely that one or more of the above partnership models will provide the complete answer for a particular country or region like theirs. The development of new forms of partnership must ultimately depend on the specific needs of a country and how improving the quality of the teaching profession is envisaged in a period of rapid globalization. In countries such as Singapore, Taiwan, Korea, and Japan, teacher education is constantly under pressure to deliver a highly meritocratic school curriculum. This is strongly related and pivotal to the continuing economic success of these nations, who are amongst the principal "Asian tigers." At present, the uni-dimensional model, which characterizes much of their teacher education, apparently meets these needs. However, Singapore has begun to experiment with a weak integrated pattern of training (Thomas et al, 2001), and there are hints of change in Taiwan and Korea. In Malaysia, where reform of teacher education is taking place in terms of upgrading teacher training colleges throughout the country, the training role of the school is still minimal reflecting little decision making in the training and personal development of its teaching staff.

Referring to the main argument of the present chapter, in which understanding context is necessary before launching into the adoption of a particular model, it is clear as far as many non-Western countries are concerned, a more professional training role of the school has yet to be mapped out, before future changes to existing partnerships are contemplated. In view of the highly successful scholastic performance of students in Singapore and Korea, for Science and Mathematics in the TMS study reported in the British weekly journal the Economist (1997), existing teacher education partnership models may be satisfactory for the time being but with more attention paid to the introduction of innovative pedagogies.

However, that does not mean that educators in these and other Asian countries are completely satisfied with the status quo. From the observations made by Kim & Kim (2002) in Korea, Suzuki (2002) in Japan and Gopinathan and Sharpe (2002) in Singapore, these authors point to trends in which a greater role of school staff in trainee mentoring at both primary and secondary school levels is taking place (in Singapore) or is being con-

sidered (Korea, Japan). Not only are basic curriculum subjects such as science, mathematics, and language affected, but social studies and especially citizenship and values education are also concerned (Thomas, 2002).

However, ultimately the success of any partnership depends on

a. a clear rationale and statement of objectives for wanting to change
b. a careful contextual analysis of the existing education system before a different partnership model is introduced, and
c. an understanding of the importance of the interrelationships between all players in a proposed partnership.

In the next section we will examine the latter and discuss the intergroup group dynamics which underline the success or otherwise of partnership change in teacher education.

WHAT CONSTITUTES THE PARTNERSHIP DYNAMIC?

By the time the group of experts had examined the various partnership models and discussed each of them in the light of their own country needs, it occurred to them that the ultimate success of introducing a new partnership model, ultimately depended on those people who would have to work the system. So they proceeded to tackle the third question, which this chapter attempts to address.

In order to have a better understanding of the notion of partnership and so facilitate the choice and implementation of a particular model for teacher education, it would be useful to analyse partnership in terms of inter group relations. A useful framework for this task can be taken from the study of group dynamics. Group dynamics occupies a central position in the study of human groups, which constitutes a key component of the study of social psychology. The study of inter group relations tells us that individuals behave partly as result of their own individual characteristics, and partly reflecting the norms of the groups to which they belong. It was Sherif (1966) who pointed out that:

> whenever individuals belonging to one group interact collectively or individually, with another group or its members in terms of their group identifications, we have an instance of intergroup behavior (p. 12).

Putting this into an education setting, intergroup behavior can occur between university academics and school staff, both of whom have common objectives which might include the development of a training curriculum, or introducing new assessment procedures for the practicum. The intergroup behavior in these circumstances is likely to meld a partnership, provided there are not too many differing points of view on the subject

under discussion. There are four key constructs that emerge in the study of inter group relations which are relevant to our present discussions about teacher education and partnership change. These are *expectations, social cognition, communication,* and *conflict.* Let us examine each with reference to the need for developing more meaningful and workable partnerships between schools, colleges, and training institutions; and schools and other non education sector partners.

Expectations

When groups become categorized such as trainees, teacher educators, consumers etc, expectations emerge of these group categories and so stereotypes are activated, as are the affect and attitudes, individuals have toward members of other groups. When new partnerships are developed between schools and training institutions, stereotypes already exist about the main players. The recent research on stereotypes tells us that they are very durable and probably not possible to eliminate (Devine, 1989). What is important is that certain categories of stereotypes may be more critical in predicting intergroup attitudes and behaviors than others. Beliefs about the character of group members and the values they hold, and how these are used to undermine or promote certain behaviors, appear to be useful in understanding the expectations of two or more groups (i.e., school, university, or commercial company), who may be contemplating a partnership. When it comes to examining the nature of affect, emotions such as distrust and anxiety that could arise when there is a change of partnership model, play a key role in trying to predict and implement new partnership patterns.

Perhaps the most important facet of partnership expectations will be the nature of intergroup attitudes towards change. Groupcentrism, a term coined by the present author and related to ethnocentrism, makes attitude change one of the most difficult issues to address, especially when there are changes in the balance of training from higher education to the school. Expressing attitudes such as "our group culture is the best" and "our way of training has always been the most effective" are examples of groupcentric attitudes. All three constructs discussed above, clearly play a major part in the expectations of group partners in contemplating the development of a close professional liaison, and essential to the well being of any partnership.

Social Cognition

Intergroup social cognition is about how members of one group think about members of other groups. Context, a key variable in intergroup

dynamics, deals with interpersonal interaction between groups within the same social milieu. Variables such as frequency of intergroup contact, time span of interaction, degree of intimacy, numbers of those interacting (Bochner, 1982), are all important to consider when examining the knowledge and attitudes of the main players of a partnership. Perceived dominance (in professional and academic domains), of the higher education component of a partnership is a particular factor, especially when there has been a change from a unidimensional to an integrated version of partnership.

Communication

There will be differences in the way members of a partnership communicate which could affect its success. The language used in most university faculties of Education tends to be overly academic and esoteric for direct use in schools and colleges. Therefore, it is only to be expected that the teaching staff in a school, which is planning to enter into an integrated partnership with a HEI, may wish to use inter-partner communication that is understood for classroom-based training. For example, reflective analysis of teacher behavior requires teachers in school to be more self critical than was the case a few decades ago, and has now become the norm amongst many school staff. On the other hand, reflective techniques and the language associated with them as yet are not the communications norm for university staff when evaluating their own teaching. Communication differences such as these and others, could for instance lead to difficulties when discussing various modes of trainee assessment. There is a risk that unless the mode and style of communication between players in a newly established partnership are understood and agreed upon, the effectiveness of the interrelationships and therefore the intergroup dynamic will suffer, and with it the success of the partnership model. Communication does not only refer to professional and academic matters, but also to procedures of day to day management and administration of activities like the organisation of the practicum in which both partners have a stake. It is necessary that modes of communication between partners are agreed and understood, especially when decisions have to be made about the quality of training and the teacher professionalisation.

Conflict and Partnership Changes

Intergroup conflict is similar in many ways to interpersonal conflict but according to Condor and Brown (1988), intergroup conflict is a collective

phenomenon and therefore needs a collective view of "man" as a part of a collective. When melding partnerships between school and a HEI, there is the danger that perceived differences of one or other of the partners may be a barrier for agreement on various matters. Conflict could arise from professional cum territorial disputes. For instance, would the school be the best place for all aspects of training to take place, or would the HEI be a more suitable venue for training science teacher trainees due to superior laboratory facilities? Financial resources and budgets are also sources of conflict particularly when it comes to hiring staff in schools for mentoring trainee teachers.

Methods of resolving conflicts can of themselves also be sources of conflict between the school and the HEI. The issue of intergroup contact and its role in resolving possible causes of conflict outlined above plays a key role in making partnerships work.

In this section an attempt has been made to analyse the dynamics of partnerships, in which two or more groups may be involved. The analysis has been socio-psychological in nature, and has briefly examined key constructs that need to be considered in any study of group dynamics. There is as with all analyses, limits to the extent to which one can provide a workable set of predictions and answers to any problem, and the same is true for an understanding of the inter group dynamic of an education partnership.

Much of the success of a partnership depends on how one understands and builds on the knowledge and experience gained from the way groups interact with one another, and whether they share common goals. Whatever partnership model is finally adopted, the crucial question about whether it will be an answer for qualitative change, ultimately depends on how successful all the stakeholders (i.e., teachers, teacher educators, managers, trainees, and the students), in the partnership interact with one another, especially at the operational level.

PARTNERSHIP AND THE PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT OF TEACHERS

From reading the literature, as well as hearing first hand about how people in medium to large organizations relate to one another in the work place, our group of experts tackled the fourth question addressed earlier in the chapter. The fourth question raised the issue of what effect partnership change may have on staff development and career prospects? In fact, the group realized this question was not unrelated to the third question we have examined in the previous section. Understanding constructs such expectations, social cognition, and even conflict are all part of how we plan our lives, and are not only useful in analyzing organizational aspects of an

education partnership. So let us discuss how partnership change may effect prospects for teacher development and career plans?

Partnership should not only be seen in terms of improving the trainee's professional competencies through extended practical teaching experiences in schools, and the integration between different courses in school and higher education. Other phases of the teacher education continuum are now also being targeted, such as induction and continuing teacher education. Both these phases are part and parcel of the professional development of teachers. In Britain, induction has traditionally been shared between schools and the LEAs, and most Anglophone countries in Asia and Africa have followed this tradition but with strong central government control substituting local control.

However, new partnership models can play a number of roles during the induction phase. One of these roles would be to ensure that continuity between training and employment exists, so that trainees can make an effective transition between training and entering the teaching service. An example of this transition would be the transfer of information about a teacher's profile, which would contain data on that teacher's performance during training and how under the partnership, this could be followed up when the teacher takes up his or her first post.

One of the most significant developments to date concerning partnership, has been the role of mentors in the professional development of newly qualified teachers (NQTs) (Boydell & Bines, 1994; White, 1995). The role of higher education in this regard is becoming more important in view of the reduced contribution that the British LEAs make to this phase of a teacher's career development. Support from a higher education partner may involve linking the planning and management of ITT, to that of continuing professional development, of which induction would be a part of this process.

Higher education plays a key role in this area, providing both depth and breadth in the various programs that would be offered, complementing the role of schools and colleges in the partnership. Mentoring has been shown to be an increasingly important process, in not only assisting trainees and non-qualified teachers (NQTs) to become more competent, but it also contributes to the professional development of the mentors themselves.

The mentoring process not only involves the monitoring of those being mentored, but it provides the opportunity for mentors to reflect on their own practice developing a range of counselling and supervisory skills which enriches their own professionality (McIntyre et al, 1993; Wilkin, 1992). Mentoring also supports the staff within schools, and is clearly becoming an important part of staff development throughout schools and colleges in Britain. However, mentoring is only part of the process of professionalisation.

There are two dimensions that need to be considered in the present discussion about teacher development. First, the need to provide opportunities for individuals to improve themselves and second, the need to improve the effectiveness of the institution and its quality. Let us briefly discuss each dimension.

Self Improvement

The most obvious example would be the need for teachers to study for further qualifications. At a group level, departmental staff may need refresher courses on introducing innovatory ideas on curriculum and pedagogy, while other staff may require help with drawing up a school development plan. Help to meet these needs has in the past come from higher education, central government or LEAs. However schools and college clusters working on a collaborative basis, may be other places that can provide this assistance to teacher self-improvement. Teachers may also wish to pursue research training courses, with the increased demand for teachers to be literate in reading and applying research findings, and where necessary to carry out classroom based research. It is still rare for research training to be part of an initial training curriculum, and so special INSET courses would fill this void.

It would appear that partnership and particularly those models which attempt to open up teacher education to a much broader perspective, (e.g., the reciprocal model), have considerable potential for improving the future career prospects of teachers. In small states like Brunei, Singapore, The Maldives, and in the Carribbean there is often only one main training institution for teachers. This does impose limits on policies for teacher development, as the number and variety of training programs would be limited which ultimately means poorer career opportunities. However, the role of mentors, CTs or TTs which are now hallmarks of even embryonic new partnerships as in Singapore, means that opportunities for self improvement are increased. In larger countries like the United Kingdom, Australia and the USA, the scope is much greater.

Nevertheless, similar issues are to be found in states both large and small. For instance, all teachers after a period of service in schools will need of some form of continuing education. Teachers will always need to be provided with the opportunities of attending INSET courses which would give them professional updating. As all societies are caught up in the process of rapid globalization, teachers will be in the forefront of change and societal adjustment. Professional development programs should take this into account. The need to devise more enlightening career pathways and incentive systems will also be a priority in which partnership changes would be a useful launching pad for teacher development.

Professional self improvement should not be confined to improving school staff. Staff in higher education, are equally in need of professional development, and the partnership principle should be used in the same way that is being advocated for staff in schools. For instance, many staff in higher education would welcome training and retraining in the use of information technology, new methodologies in educational research, and in some cases, awareness of management techniques where academic staff take on administrative roles as well as their academic and professional ones. Training in decision-making and coordination of programs are both salient features of good partnership techniques, and would be particularly valuable for staff in training institutions.

Institutional Improvement

Programs for teacher self improvement would not only benefit the partnership at the level of individual teachers and trainers, but also at the institutional level. Staff training in better management and administrative strategies, decision making, planning, and creative institutional organisation, would be likely to improve the overall efficiency of teacher education partnerships. Also both academic and senior management staff of the respective partner institutions who were trained in identifying and preparing the development plan for schools and colleges, would provide a cadre of trained expertise that would ensure a particular partnership would be both effective and efficient. Research carried out by staff focusing on different facets of a partnership e.g., assessment, curriculum, management, and career development would invariably lead to better institutional effectiveness.

POSTSCRIPT

In this chapter we have observed that different partnership models have been used as ways of improving teacher education and training. For example, the uni-dimensional model has been an enduring model for most of the 20th century until it was found wanting. The integrated model in its various guises as well as the reciprocal model have now replaced most uni-diemensional partnerships but are yet to prove their worth as effective solutions. However, whether any model or model hybrid could be perceived as a universal solution is improbable and may not be desirable either. As we have observed throughout our discussion, the key issues of rationale, context, intergroup dynamics, and opportunities for teacher development are universally associated with partnership and partnership

change. However, the most absorbing task, which our group of experts from Country X faced, was the issue of context, as partnership between institutions is always situation specific and complex. Furthermore, at the national level choosing the most suitable form of partnership is even more challenging. It is therefore likely that the development of future partnerships in teacher education will continue to search for workable solutions at best, to overcome the many uncertainties that will face those who train teachers in the future, whether it be in country X or elsewhere.

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CHAPTER 5

HOPI TEACHERS FOR HOPI SCHOOLS
Collaborating to Seed Educational Change

Carolyne J. White, Diane Nuvayouma, and Harvey Paymella

I am even more inspired that stories, that brush of imagination, are the truth in every human situation, and the rest is either bad television or the facts that pose as the tropes of power and domination

—*Gerald Vizenor, 1993*

OPENING VIGNETTE

Diane's Story. I am on a 14-day canoe journey from Port Hardy to Victoria, British Columbia, Canada, part of a crew that includes 13 people: young women, older women, young men, and the rudder man at the stern. The sun shines brightly above us. The ocean reflects brilliant blinding diamonds on its surface.

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Illumination

"We are going to head towards the beach," says the rudder man. This means we will navigate between the beach and the navigation light, which has a 15-foot by 15-foot cement area at the waterline. We paddle fast, digging our paddles hard, and deep, as instructed. Suddenly, a whirlpool forms at the navigation light and draws the canoe towards it. I am sure we will hit the light and be sucked down into the whirlpool.

Softly, the rudder man says, "We are not going to make it!"

All of my attention focuses on the paddle. If we hit, I do not want to know.

Suddenly the rudder man says, "Stop paddling," and in his next breath, "Back paddle fast and hard!"

I look up; the cement block is safely to our right. We continue to paddle as the canoe's bow points toward the rocky shore.

We work under the leadership of the rudder man. We trust his expertise. He leads without hesitation. We follow without question, without hesitation. This day I learn a powerful lesson; people can accomplish anything when they listen carefully, work together, and trust. I learn to paddle through fear. Always afraid of being in water over my head, this canoe experience seeds profound change.

A COLLABORATIVE EFFORT

We write this chapter collaboratively. Collaboration is central to our work in the Hopi Teachers for Hopi Schools Program. From designing the program, to writing the grant proposal to fund the program, to implementing the program, collaboration is central to our goals for ourselves, for the student participants, and for their future work as teachers. Crucial to the social/political agenda we share, collaboration also marks our rejection of dualistic ways of knowing.

THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL LENSES

Qualitative Inquiry informs our writing. A "civic, participatory, collaborative project that joins the researcher with the researched in an on-going moral dialogue" (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000), qualitative inquiry embraces interpretive and critical paradigms and multiple methods in an inherently political approach to educational research. For this chapter, we use reflexive autoethnographic research methods (see Ellis & Bochner, 2000) and intimate writing practices that aim to change the world. We write from our lives, write with Denzin (2000), to "imagine a world where race, ethnicity,

class, gender, and sexual orientation intersect; a world where language empowers and humans are free to become who they can be, free of prejudice, repression, and discrimination" (p. 899). After Lincoln (1983) we seek a narrative practice that is congruent with Indian storytelling as it is "drawn from living history. Its angle or truth derive[d] from a belief in . . . telling their lives directly. . . . To tell a story the Indian way, no less than to write, means not so much to fictionalize, as to inflect the trust of the old ways still with us" (p. 222). And, like Lincoln's storyteller, our words emerge from our relational knowing (see Riley-Taylor, 2002), our connectedness to all our relations.

We write to enjoin with you, our reader, to create what Hannah Arendt (1958) called "webs of relationship." Such webs are constructed "with an entirely different in-between which consists of deeds and works and owes its origin exclusively to people's acting and speaking directly to one another" (p. 182). Writing collaboratively encourages us to "keep searching for a language of compassion . . . to enable persons to speak with us and with one another about the dissonance they feel, the gaps, the voids, the consciousness of what is not yet—and what might be, what ought to be" (Greene, 1991, p. 553). We want our collaborative writing to mirror our collaborative methods for creating a specialized teacher education program to prepare culturally responsive Hopi teachers.

Yet, we know that there are no politically innocent spaces from which to write. We acknowledge our precarious roles as writers of this text, writers who have been educated by the "whitestream" (see Denis, 1997; Grande, 2000a) institutions within which we want our work to intervene. It is important that we reflect our socio-cultural positionality and consciously acknowledge the personal, political, and moral commitments that inform our work and the relationship between the researcher, the research, and the researched (see Neumann, Pallas, & Peterson, 1999; Siddle-Walker, 1999). Following Young (2001), "we must ask how our academic and cultural experience, points of view, social commitments, traditional and nontraditional sources of knowledge improve learning and life chances for a diverse [American Indian] population" (p. 3).

As explained by Reuben Honhanie (Hopi): "We are under a microscope. A lot of people are interested in Indians, so they look at them and analyze them and analyze them again and say, 'These people are good at this, but they are not very good at this.' The reason they say that is because they have looked at them so much, whereas they haven't look at themselves so much" (Quoted in White, 1995).

Here we gaze inward onto ourselves and outward onto our work together in the Hopi Teachers for Hopi Schools Program. We, Carolyne, Harvey, and Diane, are cultural outsiders and insiders. As first-generation college graduates, we understand from the inside many of the challenges faced by the student participants in this teacher education program.

Gazing Through Diane's Eyes: Diane's Positionality

I, Diane, am a cultural insider as a Native person, but an outsider to Hopi culture. I am Kwakiutl from my father and Hixwamis from my mother from Fort Rupert, Canada. My husband is part Hopi and part Navajo. I speak only English as a result of my parents only speaking English to my siblings and me. Today I realize the importance of language and its connection to the culture. I recall sitting in the big house asking what the Chiefs said. The reply from my mother was, "It cannot all be translated into English." My father was a significant influence as he used to tell me that he was putting money into an account for when I would attend university. That dream was realized when I completed my undergraduate degree in 1998 and my master's degree in 2002. The realization of these degrees is very important as my father died when I was ten. My education changed after his death for two reasons: One, he encouraged me and my siblings, and that encouragement was lost after his death; and two, I began to realize that my academic achievement set me apart from my peers on the reserve. In order to be a part of the peer group I began to perform poorly in school and that attitude continued on into my undergraduate degree. But when I began to work on my master's degree, my attitude changed, and my grades reflect the hard work of study. I am the Program Coordinator for the Hopi Teachers for Hopi Schools Program, a position that, like the canoe journey, has me in water over my head, again moving through fear, again working with a collaborative team.

Gazing Through Harvey's Eyes: Harvey's Positionality

I, Harvey, am both cultural insider and outsider. Born into the Tewa Kachina and Parrot Clan for the Deer Clan in the Tewa Village of First Mesa on the Hopi Nation, my first schooling experience was at Keams Canyon Boarding School where the clear agenda was to take the Indian away from the child, to destroy my language and culture. But Hopi philosophy and our culture were strong enough that over hundreds of years we remain who we are and we still speak our own language today. I speak Hopi and Tewa. I earned an athletic scholarship to Kansas State University where I completed bachelor's and master's degrees. Following more than 40 years in the field of education that included work as a teacher and administrator at various colleges and universities, today I serve as the Education Director for The Hopi Tribe.

I have been inundated with educational methodologies for some time as they have been delivered to Indian people. Change is not the favorite word to use with people as it affects them personally. But change is inevitable.

Ironically, in an era of technology, America still is a practitioner of an archaic system of educating Indian children. As dependents of the mindset of the theoretical masters who develop our educational systems across the country, our education systems are hammering out more educational illiterates than well-prepared minds to deal with the demands of the world. Our school systems have fallen victim to businesses that want to push and sell their products in the name of education. The goals of schooling become economic rather than genuinely educating our people. The demands of today's world expectations are not kept up with. Our education systems, bar none, include institutions of higher learning, some lagging as we produce ill-prepared individuals for today's job requirements and expectations. Lawmakers should aggressively address the need to raise the levels of comprehension and learning to improve the academic gain by students. But, we give more consideration to allocating funding to prisons or to institutions to incarcerate young people to make living comfortable for the individuals incarcerated than we do making learning pleasurable and schooling something children could look forward to day-to-day. These are my experiences, seen through forty years plus in the field of education. My personal goal, to give consideration to preparing our own tribal members to become truly teachers for our children with a solid background in the foundations of education, motivated me to collaborate on this program.

Gazing Through Carolyne's Eyes: Carolyne's Positionality

As a white traitor (see Heldke, 1998, p. 94), I, Carolyne, am accustomed to being a cultural outsider in my anti-racist educational practice. Thirty-five years ago a young Hopi woman, Noreen Kewanwytewa (now Sakiestewa), and I cross paths; she, a high school student enrolled in the Southern Utah State College Upward Bound program, I, a young Mormon wife employed as the secretary for that program. Blind to the "sacred hoop" (see Allen, 1986) I am joining, blind to the seeding of change, each time I move from this sacred hoop of connection, I am returned. Following two years in New Orleans and five years in Illinois, completion of bachelor's and master's degrees, I am asked to direct the same Upward Bound Program. Later, following eight years in Illinois, I return to conduct dissertation research in collaboration with eleven former Navajo and Hopi graduates of the same Upward Bound Program (White, 1991). Noreen Sakiestewa is one of these co-researchers.

Six years ago I return to the hoop again. This time I am in Arizona on sabbatical from my faculty position at Cleveland State University, re-connecting with Noreen and the other co-researchers of my dissertation, when I say to a friend, "I'd like to get a position at NAU. I think I'll throw the idea out to the universe and see what happens." Two years later, a telephone call

from a colleague tells of a position at NAU. "It would be perfect for you," he says, "a department chair." I have no interest in being a department chair, but because it is NAU, I call the dean. The first words he speaks are, "I'm looking for someone who can help us focus on Native American education." Although it is a teacher education department, and I am a foundations scholar, faculty members say they want me. They view my work with the Cleveland Collaborators for Positive Education Network and our creation of the Collaborations Journal and the Urban School-Based Teacher Education Program at Martin Luther King Law & Public Service Magnet High School and Middle School (see Storz, 1998) as a fit with the numerous innovative teacher education programs the department sponsors. I accept the position. Noreen, who is now a NAU doctoral student, tells me I am returning to the Southwest to serve on her dissertation committee. I return to the sacred hoop of connection with indigenous education.

Western mind advises distance, objectivity, administrative power. Indigenous mind advises close relation, vulnerability, trust in the spiritual. As the department chair, when I hire new faculty and staff I look for professional competence **and** spiritual centeredness. People who lack a spiritual center are ill-equipped for indigenous education work. White people who lack an understanding of the workings of White privilege (see McIntosh, 1988) are ill-equipped for indigenous work. Faculty members who lack methodological and epistemological humility (see Narayan, 1988) are ill-equipped for indigenous work.

I am a cultural insider to the university environment. The Hopi Teachers for Hopi Schools Program is my most important work since coming to Northern Arizona University.

Two years ago, a Navajo colleague, Joe Martin, tells me about a funding opportunity. With only one week to submit the proposal, the task appears impossible. We need a tribal partner. Knowing that the Navajo Tribe has partnered with a couple of Arizona universities, Joe suggests that we partner with The Hopi Tribe. He telephones Harvey and within three hours Harvey and I meet in my office to create this program. Artwork from the Hopi artist, Fred Kabotie, graces the cover of our proposal. Titled, "Germinator," his artistic design symbolizes the long-term goal of the project: to seed significant institutional change in the educational system on the Hopi reservation and the teacher education program at Northern Arizona University. But why do we believe such change is needed?

HISTORICAL LENS

Prior to Contact, prior to the invasion of Europeans ideologically grounded in "American Racial Anglo Saxonism" (see Horseman, 1981), American Indian communities effectively engaged in culturally responsive practices and educated young people into their tribal history, language, lit-

erature, values, science, art, and all other forms of education necessary to maintain their way of life.

After Contact, everything changed. American schooling for American Indian students became a process of deculturalization (see Alvord & Van Pelt, 1999; Lomawaima, 1995, 2000; Spring, 1994; Swisher & Tippeconnic, 1999; Yazzie, 2000), a process of using schools to colonize the minds of conquered people by erasing their language (see Fordham, 1998), denigrating their culture (see Chavers & Locke, 1989), and teaching exclusive acceptance to the dominating white male Eurocentric culture. This legacy of colonial schooling for American Indian children (see Adams, 1979, 1988a, 1988b, 1995; Axtell, 1981; Deyhle & Swisher, 1997; Hoxie, 1984; Prucha, 1979; Senese, 1986, 1991; Szasz, 1999; Szasz & Ryan, 1988) is a legacy of institutional racism (see Knowles & Prewitt, 1969) and sexism (see Feagin & Feagin, 1978) that persists today, sustained by educational institutions at every level, K-graduate education. And, it is often unwittingly perpetuated by scholarly research and publications (see Lomawaima, 2000). Villeans, Deyhle, & Parker (1999) advocate for the inclusion of Critical Race Theory analysis that will "provide educational researchers with an interdisciplinary, race-based interpretive framework aimed toward social justice . . . [a] perspective that has generally been absent from mainstream educational research" (p. 32). We agree that this perspective is crucial for addressing racism and for informing our development of curriculum that can heal the damage from this history of colonial education (see Deyhle, 1992; Deyhle & Swisher, 1997; Siddle-Walker, 1999).

CONTEMPORARY LENS

For American Indians today, student achievement levels tend to be the lowest, and drop-out rates, substance abuse, and suicide numbers the highest, of all minority groups in America. As a result, of 30 ninth-grade American Indian students, 19 graduate, eleven pursue some form of higher education, and only one student emerges with a four year degree. Navajo and Hopi student attrition ratios closely approximate these figures (Deyhle & Swisher, 1997).

Within the particulars of our local context, Northern Arizona University educates more American Indian students than any other institution in the United States. Institutional rhetoric about commitment to American Indian communities abounds. Serious institutional resource commitment to indigenous education is scarce. The programs touted as successfully serving Indian constituencies typically reinscribe Western ontologies, epistemologies and methodologies. Troubled relationships exist with the tribal governments in the area and with the local tribal college. And, within this context remains the critical need for educational research that informs educational practice and illuminates how to best serve children.

Understandably, we approached this project with caution considering the kinds of colonial relationships that have typified university involvement with native communities. We share David Beaulieu's (White Earth Chippewa) (2000) concern that "Indian parents, communities, and tribes must define their purposes and goals to guide education with clear directions and . . . they must also assert the criteria for evaluating the success from a tribal and community perspective" (p. 38).

ARIZONA TRIBAL PRIORITIES

Tribal members in Arizona have recently clarified the following priorities for their communities:

1. *Self-Sufficient/Self-Contained Communities.* Education, economic development and employment need to be coordinated in a manner that fosters self-sufficient and self-contained communities.
2. *Healthy and Safe Communities.* Negative influences on the physical and mental health of community members need to be eliminated. These influences are communicated primarily through television, and combined with the cycle of dependency in these communities, create unhealthy environments, a general decline in mental health of the community, and increases in substance abuse and violence.
3. *Culture and Education.* Preservation of native language and culture is a role of education. Language and culture are being rapidly lost, and there is a fear that once lost, the community will lose its Native identity. Language and culture are barometers of community survival that must be integrated into the total educational experience of community members.
4. *Empowerment versus Dependence.* Participants discussed self-sufficiency, self-determination, and sovereignty while making recommendations and comments that reinforce a reactive rather than proactive approach to their respective conditions. There is little or no faith in the institutions (such as schools) they depend on, and rightfully, they advocate taking control over them, but at the same time, they seem reluctant to create change. There is also a significant amount of apathy and a lack of self-responsibility, and an attitude of a lack of community ownership.

CULTURALLY RESPONSIVE TEACHER PREPARATION

We created a teacher education program that seeks to honor these priorities. Although creating such a program is incredibly complex (see Batchelder, 2000; Beaulieu, 2000; Reyhner, 2001; Senese, 1999; Tippeconnic,

2000; Wallace, 2000; Writer, 2001; Yazzie, 2000), culturally responsive educational practices (see Barta & Schaelling, 1998; Elliot, 1998; Dementi-Leonard & Gilmore, 1999; Jacobs & Jacobs-Spencer, 2001; Lomawaima, 1995; Lyons, 2000; Sparks, 2000; Writer; 2001; Zachold, 2001) are a key component of this program. Educational research confirms that teachers' knowledge of students' language and culture fosters their academic achievement (see Cummins, 1996; Ladson-Billings, 1994; McLaughlin, 1992/1994; Matthews & Smith, 1994; Reyhner, 1988; Willeto, 1999). As explained by Ladson-Billings (1994), this type of teaching strives to "maximize students' learning by using students' cultures as the basis for helping students [to] understand themselves and others, [to] structure social interactions, and [to] conceptualize knowledge" (p. 314). Gay (2000) adds that such teaching liberates students from mainstream cultural pervasiveness, it fosters critical thinking among children, and validates them as knowledgeable. Culturally responsive teachers are involved in the local community and work to foster a non-racist, culturally-fit learning environment.

In our model of culturally responsive practice the goal is not merely to increase achievement, but rather to support the transformation of communities. This must begin with providing students with an appropriate civic education that includes equipping them to understand the constitutional status of tribal peoples as distinct nations with sovereign status and treaty rights. While American Indian schools are increasingly being called upon to serve as "sites of American Indian cultural production and reproduction" (Grande, 2000a) by providing culture and language instruction, they must also serve as active players in community development. Some school officials, school boards, and tribal leaders are concerned about making schools better by building on the strengths of their communities. They would teach Indian children to love learning by rooting it in the place they come from and working to improve life on Indian reservations by engaging schools, and specifically the students, in addressing local issues. Far too often schools have focused curriculum on individual success, with the consequence that students are inadvertently encouraged to leave home in search of this type of success. As a result, too many of the talented Indian professionals leave the reservation and are employed off-reservation and only a few will ever realize the value of going home to help rebuild their home and communities (Martin, 2000).

There are not enough American Indian educators nationally, regionally, or locally. The pattern of under-representation of Indian educators replicates the national pattern of under-representation of other minority members in the teaching profession. Factors that underpin the pattern are varied. Many minority students are attracted to fields outside of education where recruiting is more effective and monetary rewards and prestige is higher. High student attrition rates, students' low scores on standardized tests, students' difficulties with college admission requirements, and the unresponsiveness of colleges and universities to minority students' needs,

abilities, and expectations represent formidable obstacles (Tierney, 1998; Pavel, Swisher, & Ward, 1996). Nationwide, 48% of American Indians do not graduate from high school. Of American Indians on reservation, only 25% are high school graduates. However, the need for qualified teachers on the reservations is critical. Often school districts charged to serve Native American students are faced with an inability to attract well trained personnel to reservation-based schools due to perceived living conditions, travel distances, and/or a lack of familiarity and positive regard for Native cultures. The majority of teachers in reservation schools are typically non-Native American, first-year teachers. Non-Native American teachers typically do not teach for more than three years on the reservation. Thus, high teacher turnover rates create problems with program development and continuity. However, Native American teachers typically remain in their Native communities because of cultural and family systems.

The Hopi Education Summit held in 1995 established a goal of 100% Hopi teachers for all schools on the Hopi reservation. Hopi parents, professionals and leaders have made their wishes known: they want teachers who have the skills, knowledge, and audacity to proactively change the systems and structures to accommodate schools as communities that meet the needs of their students, and who demand a different structure in a just, caring, and culturally-appropriate learning environment.

There is no question that many Indian students receive a quality education, but the majority of students attend schools that range from good to mediocre, and for large numbers of these young people, schooling is a failure (Hopi Education Summit, 1995). Our goal is not to simply prepare Hopi teachers, but to prepare exemplary certified Hopi teachers who are appropriately trained in culturally responsive pedagogical approaches, methods and techniques applicable to reservation-based schools. We are in full agreement with Hopi parents, professions, and leaders, and with educational researchers who affirm that individuals who know Indian children, speak their language, know the culture, and participate actively in community functions will more effectively provide appropriate instruction to help Indian students succeed academically (see Deyhle, 1989; McLaughlin, 1992/1994; Deyhle & Swisher, 1997; Yazzie, 1999; Gaseoma, 1999).

HOPI TEACHERS FOR HOPI SCHOOLS

This program is designed to prepare 20 new exemplary Hopi teachers skilled at providing culturally responsive teaching to be employed as elementary school teachers on the Hopi reservation. Funding from the U.S. Department of Education Indian Education Professional Development Program is crucial to the accomplishment of this goal. The grant funds tuition, books, fees, and a monthly stipend of $1,250 for the student participants. Many of the participants are non-traditional students with children

and spouses to support. The stipend is adjusted according to the number of dependents ($200 per month per dependent). This funding is critical, as the cost of living in Flagstaff is much higher than the reservation, in fact, higher than most communities in Arizona. This funding allows the participants to focus more completely upon their course work without having the distraction of a part-time job. Lack of such financial support is often the major obstacle for indigenous students wishing to complete their college degrees.

The program was designed for all of the participants to enroll in the Christensen School-Based Teacher Education Program. Created in 1985, this partnership program includes the following strengths:

- It is informed by the Professional Development School literature (see Abdal-Haqq, 1998; Darling-Hammond, 1994; Goodlad, 1995; Teitel, 1996) about how to provide the most effective mechanism for preparing teachers with special attention to the development of an equity minded, culturally responsive partnership approach (see Murrell, 1998).
- It seeks to produce "teacher-scholars" whose practice is based on critical and reflective inquiry and who recognize, understand, and effectively negotiate the complexities of multiple cultural communities in constant pursuit of educational practices to maximize all children's learning and development.
- It is grounded in the real world of the school and classroom through daily internship experiences for students, supervised by trained mentor teachers and university personnel.
- Christensen School has a multicultural student body and the innovative university course work embraces a critical multicultural focus.

As mentioned before, we had one week to design this program and write the grant proposal that funds it. From her previous work in Cleveland, Carolyne had adopted the metaphor of Jazz Freedom Fighters (see White, et al., 1996), to mark the kind of spontaneous, intuitive, artistic, critical improvisational method necessary for this kind of institutional change work. Improvisation has been crucial to the success of this project. Once we were notified of our funding, we faced another challenge with only a couple of weeks to recruit the participants and get them enrolled in classes. This was a time when we knew we were "in water over our heads," another time when positive collaboration enabled success. Complicating our recruitment were federal guidelines that required the students be able to receive their degrees within two years. As we spoke with students, it became clear that our ideal plan would have to be modified. Some students desired to become secondary teachers, some needed so much course work that the Christensen Program was not viable. We kept our focus upon creating the best learning experiences we could while meeting the individ-

ual student needs. When we realized that we would not be able to fill all of the participants with Hopi Tribal members, it was agreed that we would recruit participants from other tribal communities. The project will graduate nineteen students in elementary education and two in secondary education. Fourteen of these students are Hopi, six Navajo, and one Apache.

Project staff members work closely with university faculty and staff to facilitate recruitment, admission, registration, and retention of the participants. For example, when it was discovered that some of the students were especially challenged in math, Carolyne added a special section of a required math course designed specifically for the participants. The assistant professor hired for this course, Bill Buckreis, taught in a manner that enabled the students to master the material while simultaneously researching how to more effectively instruct math to their future students. Their research resulted in two national conference sessions where the students presented their findings with the professor.

Given the complex educational needs, the dynamics of language and cultural differences, and the diversity of expectations sought by parents, few people are skilled at engaging in the types of inclusive conversations necessary to facilitate responsible participation between schools and the local Indian communities. However, those dispositions and skills can be learned through critical dialogue and collaboration. Noreen Sakiestewa's dissertation, Being Hopi: A Collaborative Inquiry Into Culturally Responsive Curriculum, provides an example of such a process. Several of the student participants in the Hopi Teachers for Hopi Schools project collaborated on this work. This exemplifies how the program is woven into the institutional fabric in collaborative ways that enhance the students' professional development. Additional project activities include the following:

- Students receive on-going academic advising and career counseling by the program staff. This includes meeting a minimum of once a month. The following are among the multiple issues they may address: family concerns; strategies for speaking with college professors regarding absences related to cultural responsibilities; facilitating access to tutoring and other academic support services; time management; money management; and providing much needed encouragement and support when course work and living away from the reservation can find students feeling like they are in "water over their heads."
- Given the high number of program participants with young children and the difficulties arranging quality childcare, the program creates opportunities for the children to accompany their parents during workshops and program meetings. For example, we arranged for an art education student to create art activities with the children.
- Students attend weekly small group verbal and written reflection conversations during academic course work and during student teach-

ing. These conversations deepen their understanding of issues related to their professional development and strengthen the learning community as students come to understand that what they may experience as a personal issue is, in fact, a common problem encountered by others in the program and by practicing teachers. By learning to openly discuss these issues, they build the critical reflective dispositions desired for exemplary educators.

- Students participate in special workshops designed to enhance their professional preparation. These include the following: exploring innovative methods for infusing native language and culture into the curriculum, such as a language presentation by the Hopilavayi Project and a workshop on integrating native cultural knowledge into the existing science curriculum; and a workshop on implementing classroom learning expeditions, in-depth investigations of a topic that students engage in the real world through projects, fieldwork, and/or service learning.
- Students present at national conferences including the National Association for Multicultural Education, the International Reading Association, and the National Council of Teachers of Mathematics.
- Students are invited to assume leadership positions. For example, a two-day cultural immersion trip was planned and implemented by the Hopi student participants for their non-Hopi classmates. This project enabled the Hopi students to reflect upon their communities through the eyes of their colleagues.
- Students enroll in specialized course work. For example, a course focused upon infusing cultural knowledge into the curriculum was team taught with Hopi Elders and Hopi teachers. This course was offered during the summer following student teaching as a final preparation for their first year of teaching.

Our program is uniquely centered on Hopi forms of knowledge and meant to address issues that are specific to Hopi students and schools. Our aim and our method is to create culturally responsive teacher training approaches that will create a vital story for other American Indian and minority groups who struggle to develop effective teacher education programs. The content of our program is specific, but we believe that the collaborative process of its development and implementation is widely replicable and of significance to educators elsewhere.

Future Directions

As we enter a second cycle of this program, we embrace the following additional goals:

- Include more attention to the social foundations course work for participants. Deep grounding in the sociological, historical, and philosophical foundations of education, especially American Indian education, is crucial. For teachers to be able to effectively advocate for educational practices that best serve their students, they must possess critical foundation dispositions that will enable them to interrogate the educational policies, procedures and practices they are asked to implement. They must be able to ask whose interests are being served. The native teacher who "listens with her heart to hear what is best for her native community" (Jim, 2002) needs to be equipped with more than the authority given to her by the state. As explained by Tozer (1984), s/he can learn to use the following additional bases of authority:
  1. *The Authority of the Rules to Educate.* More than using rules for maintaining order, this includes using the rules of valid inquiry to ask "What is the evidence?" and "How good is the argument?"
  2. *The Authority of the Expert.* This requires broad subject area preparation so the teacher is able to raise critical questions regarding mandated curricular materials. If a teacher finds a mandated reading program inadequate, is s/he knowledgeable enough in reading to be able to raise critical questions with other teachers, the administration, the school board, etc. If the program must be used, is s/he knowledgeable about how to supplement it with materials that will enhance student learning.
  3. *Pedagogical Authority: The Authority of Community.* Teachers need to be equipped to ask if they are preparing students to fit into the existing community or an ideal community. What might students need to know to create a better community? Has the teacher developed a deep understanding of the ideals of a wider, historical community? Has s/he developed an educational philosophy that includes an articulation of the "good society" and the forms of education desired to create ideal citizens for that society?
- Seek more inclusion into the university course work of what Grande (2000b) terms "red pedagogy." This pedagogy embraces the following commitments:
  1. the quest for sovereignty and the dismantling of global capitalism as its political focus;
  2. Indigenous knowledge as its epistemological foundation;
  3. the Earth as its spiritual center; and
  4. tribal and traditional ways of life as its sociocultural frame of reference (p. 355).

  Native students face the dilemma described by Robert Allen Warrior (1995) as: "a death dance of dependence between, on the one hand, abandoning ourselves to the intellectual strategies and categories of

white European thought and, on the other hand, declaring we need nothing outside of ourselves and our cultures in order to understand the world and our place in it" (p. 123-124). Red pedagogy is one crucial avenue for inviting students to traverse this dualism by developing a middle space informed by the work of critical native scholars who work this middle space in their own educational experiences and scholarship.

- Seek more inclusion of concrete strategies for preparing participants to address cultural, state, and national standards within their future classrooms while maintaining their philosophical commitments. This is another middle ground space teachers must negotiate.
- Seek inclusion of more attention to issues of evaluation. Teachers need to understand the problematics of high stakes testing. They need to examine how student learning is defined with such instruments. They need to know how to adopt, adapt, and invent effective assessment tools to accomplish more than simply inquiring into student performance. Assessment must also address the following: discover unforeseen outcomes of the experience; provide information for the improvement of the educative process (see Allen, 1998); equip students to evaluate their own processes, performances, and products (Wiggins, 1998). Teachers need experience with using portfolios and complex performance assessment (Darling-Hammond, Ancess, and Falk, 1995). The more knowledgeable teachers are about assessment, the less likely accountability mandates will determine their curriculum, the less likely they will succumb to the "teach to the test" abomination, the less likely they will become technicians of others' agendas, instead of the artistic craftspersons their students deserve (see Barone, 2001; Perrone, 1991; Rubin, 1984).

COLLABORATION WITHIN THE SACRED HOOP OF INDIGENOUS EDUCATION

Here we return to the vignette of the canoe journey that opened this chapter. We return to mark an important difference between that collaboration and our collaboration in this program. Within this project, we (students, staff and faculty) are all in water that is over our heads. Rather than one rudder man, we put our trust in numerous rudder men and women and the multiple forms of expertise each contributes to the creation of this fluid program. We are all leaders and none paddle alone. As Diane reflects further upon the story, she adds, "the rudder man was not alone in his leadership either. I see our ancestors traveling in our canoe, guiding the rudder man, guiding the crew, guiding us today."

While we have used the words "culture" and "culturally responsive" throughout this chapter, there is no singular interpretation of Hopi culture, nor is there consensus among Hopi Tribal members about the appropriateness of infusing language and culture into the curriculum of schools. For many Hopi people, school remains a white man's institution, and home and village remain the appropriate spaces for language and culture instruction. For this reason, collaboration with the student participants has been a crucial feature of this program. They have actively defined program activities. For this reason, there is a gap between the program as ideally imagined in the grant proposal and the program as realized through active student and community collaboration. We trust that this gap will remain as the program continues to seed change as we respond to the unique needs of the individuals involved, as we continue to improvise upon our materials to create new harmonies. We close this chapter with the following observations from Harvey.

The Northern Arizona University and the Hopi Tribe Office of Education are collaborating on the most effective way to improve the preparation of Hopi teachers for Hopi schools. Much dialogue is shared through meetings between the two entities. Briefly, a personal reason for having become so obsessed with pursuing this project is that I want to see Hopi people well prepared and credentialed as the outstanding educators I know they can be. The primary players respected each other's values and ideals in the preparation of the proposal and the implementation of the program. The Tribal support and encouragement given the participants is extremely helpful and especially important for those students who have been out of the academic community for some time. Discussing cultural values with many of the participants indicates that they are holding on to who they are and where they came from, they are maintaining their self-identification as they pursue this professional development.

The Tribe gains from this project. We have found that through collaboration and communication much can be gained for all involved. One success story can lead to many more with the right personnel to oversee the program. The Tribe is fortunate that Carolyne is the key person for the project. Typically, projects such as this one are under total control of the university instead of engaging genuine collaboration. The mutual respect of each other's ideals is overwhelming and appreciated.

> Hopi Education, like the planting, nurturing and cultivating of corn, is the seed that bears fruit in the uniqueness and essence of Hopi—enduring, spiritual, adaptable, productive, diverse—In harmony with life . . .
>
> —*The Hopi Tribe's 1995 Education Summit Summary Proceedings*

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CHAPTER 6

MAKING TEACHING CULTURES VISIBLE
The Value of Comparative Research

Kathryn M. Anderson-Levitt

INTRODUCTION

This chapter uses an example from a reading lesson in France to show that teachers draw on layers of complex knowledge, much of it implicit, to carry out their work. Indeed, the kind of knowledge taught in methods courses in schools of education represents only the tip of the iceberg of the understandings and assumptions on which practicing teachers draw. Educators who want to transform teaching—and teachers who want to reflect deeply on their own teaching—need to take into account the knowledge beneath the surface. Ethnographic research helps, but grand comparisons of the sorts practiced in anthropology, sociology, and history are the best research tools for identifying the knowledge beneath the surface in settings as familiar to us as classrooms. It follows that teacher education should provide plenty of opportunity for studying comparative teaching methods and the

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history of teaching—not with the intention of adopting foreign or past models, but with the goal of unfettering ourselves of overly narrow preconceptions about learning, teaching, and mass education.

GUIDING VIGNETTE

Consider the following scene from a classroom in France, and as you consider it, compare: How similar or different is it from first-grade reading lessons with which you are familiar?[1]

A Reading Lesson On *v*

In a first-grade classroom in an urban school at the end of November, just over two months since the beginning of the school year, children settled into their seats to begin the morning's work. The teacher, whom I will call "Madame Durand," elicited news from them. During the discussion, she paused a couple of times to write on the chalkboard fragments of the stories children had volunteered. Then she questioned several students who had remained quiet. When David responded, she wrote on the board the essence of his report: *"j'ai été voir le père-noël au monoprix"* (I went to see Santa Claus at the Monoprix [Department Store]).[2] She remarked in an aside to the ethnographer how David had said, "J'ai été voir" perfectly, whereas at the beginning of the year he couldn't pronounce the *v* at all.

After recess and a mathematics session, Madame Durand returned to the sentences still on the board. She erased everything except David's sentence, and led the class in "reading" it from memory several time. After lunch, the class read the text on the board again, and the teacher pointed out the /v/ sound in the word *voir* (to see). She had the class think of other words with the /v/ sound in them, and then dictated words from David's sentence for the students to write on their slates. Afterwards, children manipulated small slips of paper on which the words from David's sentence had been dittoed. They scrambled and reassembled the sentence, then pasted it into their notebooks and illustrated it.

The lesson continued the next morning and on into the third day. The class read a new text that Madame Durand had written on the board and then a dittoed sheet, both using words from David's sentence, *v* words the class had learned earlier, and syllables beginning in *v*. There were further slate dictations, reading at the board, and review of the dittoed sheet. When David arrived late on the second morning of the lesson, the teacher complained privately, "You go to the trouble of taking his sentence for reading and everything, and he's not there."

As you compare to what you know about reading instruction, consider, for example, why Madame Durand chose David's sentence. Why, for that matter, did she write students' comments on the board? Why use the board at all? Did you sense that anything was "missing"? What about reading books? What about instruction in small groups?

I will use this episode to show that teachers draw on complex knowledge for teaching, but that we rarely notice most of it unless comparative research makes it visible. Not all of teachers' knowledge is learned in schools of education or even on the job. Indeed, much of it seems like mere common sense—until comparison reveals that not everyone holds it in common.

CULTURAL KNOWLEDGE FOR TEACHING

When putting David's sentence on the board and building a reading lesson around it, Madame Durand drew on understandings and know-how that I refer to as "cultural knowledge for teaching" or simply as "teaching culture" (Anderson-Levitt, 2002). Here "culture" means "acquired knowledge that people use to interpret experience and generate social behavior" (Spradley, 1979:5). This definition stretches the word *knowledge* to include tacit as well as explicit knowledge, and to include feelings and values (such as "Children ought to learn to decode by the end of first grade") as well as purely cognitive knowledge (such as "Decoding is part of the reading process"). In this chapter, the word knowledge also includes procedural knowledge, that is, knowing *how* to do things, such as knowing how to organize a reading lesson and knowing how to handle a student having trouble.

To call knowledge *cultural* means simply that human beings constructed it rather than discovering it in nature. It means that know-how for organizing a reading lesson is not given in a presumed "nature of children" or "nature of teaching and learning," but is rather constructed by people on the basis of their particular understanding of children and their particular understanding of teaching and learning. Thus cultural knowledge varies depending on how people assign meanings to the situation in question. For example, as Shimahara and Sakai (1995) show, many elementary teachers in Japan believe that they must develop a bond with students, in fact, "a touching of the hearts," to facilitate learning (Shimahara and Sakai, 1995). In contrast, many teachers in the United States fear that too close a personal bond might harm the teaching relationship or even get misinterpreted in sexual terms. In the context of the different meanings attributed to close contact, teachers in Japan "know" that it is important to give hugs and caresses to students or even to play with them, whereas U.S. teachers "know" that they should maintain a certain distance (Shimahara and Sakai, 1995).

Although I refer here to Japanese culture and throughout the chapter to the United States and France, I do not mean to imply that all cultural knowledge belongs to a national group. On the contrary, Spradley's definition does not specify a one-to-one relationship between cultural knowledge and a particular nation or ethnic group. Although anthropologists often talk about culture as shared knowledge, "shared with whom?" remains an open question (Anderson-Levitt, 2002). As I excavate layers of Madame Durand's knowledge for teaching in this chapter, I will point out that she shares some of it with other teachers in France, some with French lay people France as well as teachers, some with U.S. teachers, and some even with U.S. lay people. Who shares what knowledge is something we learn only by the kind of comparative research described in this chapter.

COMPARATIVE METHODS

Cultural anthropology's best-known tool is ethnography, and ethnography requires small-scale comparison, as I will show in this section. However, grand comparative methods have an even longer pedigree within anthropology, and most of this chapter will focus on them.

Ethnography

Ethnography literally means culture-writing, that is, describing culture. To discover and make sense of culture, ethnographers do fieldwork, spending time with people and talking with them where they really live and work. Ethnography itself, no matter how small-scale the study, requires certain kinds of comparison. Ethnographers compare what people say, including the cultural ideals they lay out, with what we observe them actually doing. In addition, as ethnographers analyze and go back to collect more information and analyze again, looking for patterns and for exceptions to those patterns, we use the "constant comparative method" of grounded theory building (Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Strauss and Corbin, 1998). For instance, we compare the same people in different instances of the "same" social situation, such as a teacher conducting a reading lesson yesterday, today, and tomorrow. We compare the same people across different social situations, such as the same teacher teaching similar lessons to different groups of students (Chandler, 1992). We often compare different people in the "same" social situations, such as two teachers in same school, or different people in different situations, such as teachers in schools in poor and affluent neighborhoods (e.g., Leacock, 1968).

However, the comparison that matters most within ethnographic research is the juxtaposition of insider and outsider perspectives. That juxtaposition is built into our main approach to research, participant observation. "Participant" methods like hanging around, talking with people, and conducting interviews, seek to develop an "emic" view, an understanding of people's knowledge, know-how, feelings, and values from the inside. "Observation" implies that the ethnographer, who in classic ethnography usually arrived from outside, seeks the "etic" view, an understanding of the situation from outside using "universal" categories. Good ethnography balances the insiders' perspective (or perspectives) with an outsider's view (Tobin, 1999). If ethnographers fail to learn the insiders' perspective, we have produced no ethnography—no understanding of culture—because culture is all about how people make meaning (Wolcott, 1987). But without the *outsider's* perspective, we are likely to miss the tacit parts of culture—what people do but don't talk about, what they have a hard time talking about, what the ethnographer never thought to ask about, and what we take as much for granted as they do.

The problem with ethnography in familiar settings like schools is that it is not easy to bring an outsider's perspective to bear. It is hard to view the situation from a distance when *we* are the *they* we are observing. School ethnography is heavy on the participant side. We need techniques beyond participant observation to reclaim the outsider's perspective, to "make the familiar strange" and hence visible (Erickson, 1973/1984; Spindler and Spindler, 1982; Tobin, 1999). There are several such techniques, including fine-grained analysis of interaction with the aid of video recording. However, the classic if sometimes neglected way to reclaim the outsider's perspective is grand comparison.

Grand Comparison

Grand comparison means comparison from the top down as opposed to comparisons built from the ground up, as in grounded theory. There is a long tradition in cultural anthropology of grand comparison. In fact, for almost a century before true ethnography appeared (as in Malinowski, 1922/1984), anthropologists published comparative studies (Garabino, 1983; Langness, 1987). Since the early 20th century, anthropologists focused much more heavily on ethnography than on comparison (Nader, 1994). However, beginning in the 1980s, more and more anthropologists have been framing their ethnographies in the context of the world-system or the "globalization" of cultures. The new generation does multi-site ethnographic work, on immigrants and global power-brokers and the super-rich and pop musicians and internet communities, work that makes

them closet if not overt comparativists (Borofsky, 1994; Kottak and Colson, 1994; Nader, 1994).

When I refer to grand comparison, I have in mind, first, cross-national studies. Formal education is always affected by national policy, so national comparisons are always relevant.[3] Specifically, I have in mind cross-national comparison based on context-rich, on-the-ground studies that do not lose the view from the inside. Doing comparative education research on a grand scale without doing ethnography—for example, comparing national educational policies or national curricula without spending time inside Ministries of Education or local classrooms—can lead to provocative theories but to an inflated view of cross-national similarities (Anderson-Levitt, in press).[4]

Cross-national comparison based on ethnographies would seem to require enormous time and expense, but there are short-cuts that can nonetheless reveal the layers of implicit cultural knowledge. An ideal method, for those who have the stamina and the resources, is to organize a set of parallel ethnographic studies, studies that retain all the richness of the insiders' perspectives in the different settings while asking the same questions across the settings. Thus Beatrice and John Whiting sent pairs of ethnographers to communities in the Philippines, Okinawa, Mexico, India, Kenya, and the United States to study the socialization of children, later sending other teams to six more sites in Liberia, Kenya, and India (e.g., Whiting and Edwards, 1988). On a slightly more modest scale, a research team or even a solo ethnographer can conduct their own ethnographic studies in a few sites, sacrificing some of the scope of the Whitings' work for even closer comparability. Thus Joseph Tobin, David Wu, and Dana Davidson collaborated on parallel studies in Japan, China, and the United States, sharing their video tapes from preschools at each site to elicit educators' implicit understandings at the other sites (1989; see also Ben-Peretz and Halkes, 1987). George and Louise Spindler likewise developed comparative film viewing techniques that they used to systematically compare U.S. and German cultures of schooling (e.g., Spindler and Spindler, 1987; see also Fujita and Sano, 1988). Shimahara and Sakai conducted comparative ethnographies of novice teachers in both Japan and the United States (1995). Robin Alexander recently carried out a comparison of grand scope by observing and interviewing himself in schools of England, France, the United States, Russia, and India (Alexander, 2000). Victoria Baker has observed, if less systematically, in even more countries (1997).

A researcher with slim resources can still think grandly about individual projects by designing smaller, sequential studies that permit eventual comparison. For instance, after conducting the studies of France and the United States that I will describe here, I seized an opportunity to do research in the Republic of Guinea, in West Africa. I can now compare reading instruction in Guinea with what I had already learned about France and the United States, both countries that seek to influence teach-

ing in Guinea (Anderson-Levitt and Alimasi, 2001; Anderson-Levitt, forthcoming). As another alternative, ethnographers can conduct post-hoc comparisons with colleagues. For instance, Deborah Reed-Danahay and I did not realize that we had both gathered data on the same issue, how teachers talk about parents, until we had both come back from France. Nonetheless, making a post-hoc comparison across our rural and urban settings was fruitful (Reed-Danahay and Anderson-Levitt, 1991). In seminars, symposia and the theme issues of academic journals, organizers can ask participants to make post-hoc comparisons while addressing common issues. A final but crucial alternative is to compare our ethnographic work with rich descriptions from the ethnographic and other social science literature. Not all grand comparison requires scholars to do their own traveling. All of us can think comparatively by reading the ethnographic and international literature on the topic we are studying (although Tobin raises a concern about using ethnographies of varying quality; 1999:127).

Another kind of comparison on a grand scale, one also practiced by early anthropologists, is historical comparison. This chapter will show that some elements of teaching culture are so deep and widespread that only comparison to other historical eras makes them visible. Only a few ethnographers, such as Elsie Rockwell (1996), actually compare their own ethnographic findings with oral histories or archival findings they collect themselves. However, we can also do historical comparison by relying on the excellent published work of social historians; they have, after all, attempted to conduct ethnography of the past insofar as artifacts will let them (e.g., Cuban, 1993; Labaree, 1984; Vincent, 1980).

MY ANALYSES

The analysis in this chapter comes from studies that combined ethnography with cross-national comparison. The ethnography drew from 18 months of participant-observation, spread over three fieldtrips and other short visits, in 53 classrooms in France, 32 of them first grades. I followed three of those first grades for six months of the school year. My status as a non-teacher from a different country enhanced my perspective as an outsider, while many months of asking teachers to explain what I was witnessing aimed for the insiders' perspectives.

I attempted comparative ethnography first by visiting eight U.S. classrooms to observe reading instruction. Later, I organized a comparative video viewing study modeled on Spindler and Spindler (1987) and on Tobin, Wu and Davidson (1989). I showed videotapes of reading lessons from France and from the United States to audiences in both countries, eliciting oral and written responses from 32 teachers and 45 parents in France, and from 38 teachers and 29 lay people in the United States (This

design not only permitted explicit cross-national comparison, but also gave me a way to compare teachers' ideas to lay people's). The third kind of comparison that proved instructive was comparison with the social science literature. I looked at all the published qualitative descriptions I could find of reading instructions in U.S. first grades. Finally, as you will see, I turned to historical studies of teaching to seek a truly distanced perspective.

KNOWLEDGE USED IN THE FIRST-GRADE READING LESSION

Now, returning to the lesson on the sound of the letter *v* on pages 2-3, what were the layers of teaching culture on which Madame Durand drew and how does comparative research take us beyond ethnography to make that knowledge more visible? To organize the discussion, I will focus on a key moment in the lesson when Madame Durand decided to put David's sentence on the board for future use as the lesson's main text. At that moment, I will show, she was referring to the many understandings and assumptions and bits of procedural knowledge summarized, as if in her own voice, in Table 1. It was as if she were saying all these things to herself in this quick moment when she called on David, listened to his sentence, and put it on the board. The table lists Madame Durand's most explicit understandings as main points (in italics). These are understandings that she made most explicit in interviews and conversations without prompting from me. Below each main point, the table lists the less explicit background knowledge and assumptions that gradually became apparent with the help of comparative methods. In the sections below, I will move back and forth through the ideas in this table, working from the understandings that were most explicit and worth noticing—at least from the point of view of French educators—to those that are least visible and most taken for granted.

PERSONAL KNOWLEDGE AND MINORITY PROFESSIONAL CULTURES

If I had been a French-born researcher, I might have compared Madame Durand only to other teachers in France. In that case, I would have emphasized that teaching is a very personal craft (as do Clandinin and Connelly, 1995; and Elbaz, 1983). For example, Madame Durand brought to class her personal preference for class fieldtrips as inspirations for reading and writing, in contrast to other teachers' preferred methods and activities (see Anderson-Levitt, 2002 for details). In addition, of course, she brought an accumulated personal knowledge of this particular class's instructional his-

TABLE 1
Knowledge Used in Madame Durand's Lesson on v

Knowledge about reading lessons and the plan for the year

1. *I put David's sentence on the board to serve as the key text for the next reading lesson.*

Reading lessons in this class usually use students' own sentences as the text, an approach called the natural method in France.

It goes without saying that most reading lessons begin with a text offered by the students.

It also goes without saying that the lesson takes place mainly at the board, although there are some sessions in which students read from their books or, in this class, ditto sheets.

Finally, it goes without saying that my method of instruction is a mixed method, combining attention to the meaning of the text with explicit instruction in the letter-sound code.

2. *I choose this particular sentence because it includes a v word, voir.*

It will be timely to study the sound of v, since this class has already studied the sounds of *a, o, i, e, u, f, m, l, t, j, c, p, ê, è,* and *ê.*

It goes without saying that most of the year consists of a sequence of reading lessons organized around the study of different sounds.

Knowledge about the students

3. *I choose this particular sentence also because it refers to Santa Claus, a topic that will hold the students' interest.*

Students learn better when they are interested, pay attention, and participate.

4. *Finally, I choose this particular sentence because David volunteered it, and David is having trouble learning to read.*

I know that he is having trouble because he does not even consistently demonstrate sight-reading yet. On the implicit schedule of expectations for student performance, students should be sight-reading and beginning to show signs of decoding at this time of year.

More generally, students are in trouble when they are behind schedule.

5. *This sentence is particularly opportune because it contains a v-word and David usually has trouble pronouncing v because he has speech problems.*

Speech problems are one obstacle to learning to read.

6. *David is also having trouble because of family problems.*

Family problems are another common obstacle to learning to read.

Without thinking about it very often, I tend to focus on problems in the student or in the student's family, more often than on the classroom situation.

Procedural knowledge and values for handling students having trouble

7. *I hope that focusing on David and his sentence will help him learn to read.*

One way to handle students like David is to spotlight them from time to time within whole-class instruction.

Although the Ministry and the local inspector encourage us to form ability groups, I will not form groups until later in the year and will use them only for supplemental reading.

The idea of grouping too soon violates my notion of equality as equal treatment of all students.

tory and of the personal characteristics of individual students that no other teachers shared. That is why she knew, for example, that the class was ready to study the sound of *v* (point 2.1 in Table 1) and that her student David needed special attention (point 4).

A French researcher would also have remarked on the fact that Madame Durand did not use a commercial reader in her first-grade classroom. Instead, she used David's sentence about his personal experience as the text for her reading lesson (point 1). Her students' reading textbook consisted of notebooks in which students pasted dittoed sheets based on sentences they had generated about their own lives. This method represented a deliberate personal decision on Madame Durand's part, made after she had tried commercial reading series for several years. However, it was not a purely personal invention. It was a widespread method for reading instruc-

PERSONAL KNOWLEDGE	
• Knowledge of what this class has already studied; • Knowledge of these particular students	
MINORITY FRENCH PROFESSIONAL CULTURE	
• The "natural method"	
FRENCH PROFESSIONAL CULTURE	**TRANSNATIONAL PROFESSIONAL CULTURE**
• Implicit structure of reading lessons; • Implicit schedule for the year's instruction; • Implicit schedule for evaluating students; • Detailed know-how for handling weak students	• Use of mixed method for reading instruction; • Use of "ahead" and "behind" as metaphors for success and failure; • Agreement on explanations of student performance, including speech problems; • Explanations of performance that focus on traits in the student; • Explanations of performance that focus on family and milieu
FRENCH CLASSROOM CULTURE	**TRANSNATIONAL CLASSROOM CULTURE**

• Expectation of chalkboards, slates, ballpoint pens;
• Expectation of whole-class instruction;
• Doubt that 6-year-olds can work alone;
• Definition of equality as equal treatment
	• Agreement on what counts as a classroom;
	• Agreement on these "modern" values:
	  • students should pay attention;
	  • students should be interested;
	  • students should participate

FIGURE 1
Elements of Cultural Knowledge Used by Madame Durand in this Case.

tion in France, well known enough to bear a common name, the "natural method" (point 1.1).[5] I witnessed three other first-grade teachers out of 30 I observed in 32 classes use student-generated sentences as their main texts. In some French districts, 25 percent, 50 percent, or more of teachers had likewise chosen to abandon commercial readers (Bobasch, 1996).

The Layers Beneath

Comparing Madame Durand with other teachers in the same country, then, confirmed the personal nature of some of her teaching knowledge. It also showed that she shared a particular culture, the know-how and values for using the "natural method," with a minority of her professional colleagues. However, grander comparisons will reveal that so far we have examined only the tip of the iceberg of her knowledge for teaching. Figure 1 illustrates the deeper layers to be explored in the rest of the chapter. Besides drawing on the personal knowledge and on the "natural methods" culture that distinguished Madame Durand from many of her colleagues, she drew on less explicit knowledge that she shared with other teachers in France ("French professional culture" in the figure) and sometimes with non-teachers in France ("French classroom culture"). At the same time, she drew on implicit knowledge and values that she shared with teachers in the United States ("transnational professional culture") and in some cases with non-teachers in the United States ("transnational classroom culture"). In the first stages of our analysis, cross-national comparison will reveal what was French about what Madame Durand took for granted.

FRENCH PROFESSIONAL CULTURE

Know-How for Organizing a Reading Lession

Now, French researchers might have been a little surprised that Madame Durand used no commercial textbook, but they would not have been surprised that she elicited sentences from the students and put them on the board for later reading. It went without saying among French educators that most reading lessons began at the board with student-generated texts (point 1.2 in Table 1). When teachers used commercial readers, they would hold up a picture from the reading lesson and get students to talk about the picture rather than about their own experiences. For example, if the teacher were using a reader in which she knew that the key sentence for the next lesson would be, "The dog is playing with the mule," she would hold up a picture of the dog in a farm scene that included a mule. She

would write various student comments on the board. One of the students was bound to offer a sentence similar to the key text she anticipated.

Putting sentences from students onto the board was the first step in a common structure for running reading lessons in France. Most of the first-grade lessons I witnessed consisted of a series of several morning and afternoon sessions over the course of two or three days, and they tended to consist of the following sequence of activities: The teacher put sentences from the children on the board, then led the class in reading the sentences aloud and in recognizing individual words at the board. The teachers would then isolate a particular sound to be studied. Exercises on the sound would include dictation of words and syllables onto slates. Eventually, the class would read aloud from a commercial reader or a duplicated text. The class would also engage in supporting exercises, such as the use of flash-cards, and would recycle through the prior steps. A final dictation into a notebook in ink would end the lesson (Anderson-Levitt, 2002). Madame Durand and other teachers improvised on the structure, of course, and might occasionally introduce other kinds of lessons. Nonetheless, all the teachers were familiar with this structure and most of them followed it most of the time.

To teachers in France, this was simply the common sense way to teach reading. Had I not observed lessons in the United States and remembered dimly my own experience as a first grader, this structure would have looked like common sense to me as well. However, comparison to practice in the United States made it clear that this procedural knowledge for running a reading lesson in France was only one alternative among others, a part of one national professional culture among others.

To compare with U.S. practice, I drew on my own limited participant observation in U.S. first grades in 1978 and 1988 and on more recent descriptions of real U.S. first grades in the research literature. However, it is difficult to find comparable descriptions of U.S. lesson structure in books and journal articles. The first difficulty is that teachers in the United States tend not to conceive of "lessons" in the same way the French teachers do, as a series of session centering on a fixed text, "as something bounded, constrained by both time and formal structure" (Alexander, 2000: p. 272). Language arts time tends to be used more fluidly in the United States. Moreover, in the United States an observer is very likely to encounter small group activities and sometimes individual activities (as at learning centers), meaning that a reading or language arts session consists of several simultaneous sequences of activities rather than one sequence, as in classic French classrooms. These observations already point to the distinctiveness of French versus U.S. professional teaching cultures—but they also signal the difficulties of describing the structure or grammar of U.S. reading instruction. Indeed, very few researchers provide such descriptions. Thus, for example, Allington and his colleagues (Allington, Guice, Michelson, Baker, and Li, 1996), Hoffman and his colleagues (1998), and

Knapp (1995) describe the elements of reading lessons in real U.S. first-grade classrooms, but they do not describe actual sequences of events from which one can infer the structure of the lessons observed. Of the studies I have found, only Dolores Durkin's analysis of five first-grade classrooms (1984), the work by Michael Pressley's team (Pressley, Allington, Wharton-McDonald, Block, and Morrow, 2001), and Stahl, Pagnucco, and Suttles' study of six first-grade classrooms (1996) describe the structure of lessons.

The second difficulty is that the United States is so vast and varied that we have to be even more sensitive than in France to variation across regions and districts. For example, while some states or districts may sanction "whole-language" instruction, others may mandate more systematic phonics instruction (e.g., Pace, 1992). Happily, three studies that provide rich insights into elements of first-grade reading lessons (Knapp, 1995; Pressley, et al., 2001; and Taylor, Pearson, Clark, and Walpole, 2000) cover ten different states in the Northeast, South, Midwest, and West, and all include the sometimes maverick state of California (Curiously, despite all the concern about regional variation, none of these studies actually points out regional differences). There is also important variation across the students' social class (e.g., Duke, 2000; Duke, 2001), but the studies that describe real first-grade reading have done a good job of examining schools across the socioeconomic spectrum.[6]

The final difficulty lies in the preference among many researchers to describe uncommon teachers rather than ordinary, run-of-the-mill teachers. Descriptions of lessons in ordinary classrooms would make for a fairer comparison with France. However, some of the most interesting description-rich studies describe exemplary teachers (Pressley et al., 2001, and Taylor et al., 2000, as well as Dahl, Schrarer, Lawson, and Grogan, 1999) or teachers in the midst of reform (Pace, 1992). Others focus on teachers using a novel method, such as literature-based instruction (as in Hoffman et al., 1998; Knapp, 1995), rather than on methods that are the most ordinary or common.

In order to sketch a grand comparison of French practice with U.S. practice(s), then, I have cobbled together a description of U.S. practices from the various well-detailed studies just cited, with special attention to the two studies that, along with my own observations, captured the sequences of events in reading lessons in ordinary classrooms—Durkin (1984) and Stahl et al., (1996). Table 2 lays out the common activities in this composite U.S. lesson, aligning it with the steps in French reading lessons that are most comparable.

As Table 2 makes clear, French professional know-how for running reading lessons clearly differed from U.S. know-how, and it differed in ways that made a difference for students' learning experiences. In French classrooms, the children typically demonstrated comprehension of a text before reading it, for by offering the sentences to be read themselves they

TABLE 2
Structure of French and U.S. First-Grade Reading Lessons Compared

France	*United States*	
	1. Whole-class reading or writing activities.	
	2. Individual silent reading.	
	Small-Group Activities:	
1. Discussion; elicitation of text.	3. Preparation of new vocabulary.	When not in a small group, students do worksheets (or activities at learning centers) that reinforce phonics and/or comprehension.
2. Oral (or sometimes silent) reading of text on board.	4. Oral (or silent) reading of text in book.	
	5. Comprehension questions from teacher's manual.	
3. Isolation of the sound planned for study in the text.	6. Phonics in stand-alone lessons or integrated at need.	
4. Exercises (e.g., hunt for words with the same sound).		
5. Blending; decoding the text and unfamiliar words on the board and in books.		
6. Dictation of words and syllables.		

guaranteed that they understood the text. In U.S. classrooms, children demonstrated comprehension after reading, by answering comprehension questions, since pre-reading vocabulary work tended to be limited. Another difference is that each lesson in France moved from reading for meaning to a study of phonics within the same text, whereas in U.S. lessons described in the studies I have cited, teachers either introduced phonics concepts as needed and hence somewhat less predictably (e.g. Dahl, et al., 1999; Pressley et al., 2001), or else taught stand-alone phonics lessons unrelated to the texts read for meaning (e.g. Dahl and Freepon, 1995).

A "Schedule" for the Year's Instruction

We saw that Madame Durand chose David's sentence partly because it would serve as a text for a lesson on the *v* sound, which she knew from the

personal experience of teaching this class would be a timely sound to introduce. However, in France, as I have just suggested, it went without saying that most first-grade lessons were organized around the study of a particular sound and that the class would "cover" one sound after another over the course of the year (point 2.2 in Table 1). Ethnographic comparison of Madame Durand's class with the other first grades I observed in France revealed that almost all the teachers organized instruction into a predictable sequence. The year began with a few weeks of whole-word reading, that is, reading texts by sight. Then there was a brief "analytic" stage, in which the teacher taught lessons focused on the sound of individual letters—usually the most common vowels—isolated or "analyzed" in the context of familiar words. Then the teacher would introduce the concept of "synthesis," that is, the blending of a consonant-plus-vowel to decode an unfamiliar syllable. From then on, each lesson focused on the sound of a particular consonant, vowel, or consonant blend, while also allowing further practice in blending and in reading for meaning (for a full description, see Anderson-Levitt, 2002). Thus, by the end of the year most teachers had taught explicit lessons on almost 60 sounds, each of them studied in the context of a student-generated sentence.

It is difficult to conduct a grand comparison of the French teachers' implicit schedule with what U.S. teachers call the "scope and sequence" of the year's instruction because there is considerable variation within the United States. As noted, some U.S. teachers integrate phonics into lessons as the need arises or the opportunity offers itself. However, none of the descriptions of U.S. first grades suggests that teachers organize the year into the three stages of whole-word, analytic, and synthetic, instruction as commonly happens in France. This implicit schedule for the year, then, was another piece of procedural knowledge distinctive of French professional culture.

Incidentally, U.S. readers may be wondering about Madame Durand's freedom to teach without a textbook. Whereas many U.S. teachers are constrained to choose from a small set of textbooks approved by the district or the state, the teachers I observed in France could choose among a wide set of textbooks or no textbook at all, as long as they met the Ministry of Education's general objectives for first grade (see also Alexander, 2000). Among the 30 first-grade teachers I observe, four used no textbook and the remaining 26 used 12 different commercial readers.

A Schedule for Evaluating Students

Madame Durand drew on her personal knowledge that this particular student David was having trouble learning to read. But how did she know that David was having trouble? Because, she explained, he was one of the

students who, when confronted with familiar text, often said "any old thing" (*n'importe quoi*) instead of recognizing the words. At this point in the year, she expected students to be able to sight read confidently. Ethnographic comparison with other teachers in France revealed that Madame Durand shared an implicit schedule of expectations for student performance (point 4.1 in Table 2). The students in deepest trouble were those who could not demonstrate decoding by the end of the year, if not by Easter (Anderson-Levitt, 2002). Here again, grand comparison with the research literature on U.S. practice made the French cultural knowledge more visible. Both case studies and broader studies of first-grade instruction (such as Eder, 1986; and Barr and Dreeben, 1983) showed that in traditional U.S. classrooms where students were placed in small ability groups, students were identified as in trouble much earlier in the year (Anderson-Levitt, 1996). French teachers' implicit expectations for their students' progress in learning to read built on the French teachers' implicit plan for first-grade reading instruction and did not correspond to the stages by which U.S. teachers judged first graders' progress.

How to Handle Students Having Trouble

Madame Durand's focus on David and his sentence aligned with practice I witnessed in other French first grades during my ethnographic observations. She had seated him near the front of the class and called on him even when he did not volunteer, as in this lesson. I had seen other teachers likewise spotlight students having trouble during whole-class instruction (point 7.1).

But why whole-class instruction? Grand comparison with the U.S. practice I observed and saw described in the literature made visible just how central it was to reading instruction in France. In the United States, reading instruction in the early grades has traditionally taken place largely in small groups (Barr and Dreeben, 1983; Pallas, Entwisle, Alexander, and Stluka, 1996). Although grouping has been called into question lately in the United States, it seems to continue to be commonly practiced in first grades; for instance, Taylor et al. (2000) note that the first graders they recently observed in 22 classrooms spent an average of 48 minutes per day in small groups. In contrast, only half the teachers I observed in France formed small groups at all (point 7.2). The paucity of small group instruction was an instance in which ethnographic research revealed a contrast between cultural ideals and actual behavior. French Ministry of Education policy recommended forming groups early in the year, and superintendents and normal school professors told me, "We do ability grouping in France." Their claim, however, did not exactly match reality (Anderson-Levitt, 2002).

Grand cross-national comparison also brought to light important implications for student learning. U.S. research literature on grouping had demonstrated that high group members learned significantly more material (sounds and vocabulary words) than low group members (Barr and Dreeben, 1983; McPartland, Coldiron and Braddock, 1987; Pallas, et al., 1994). This fact helped me recognize what I had previously taken for granted in France. In every class in France, whether grouping occurred or not, virtually all students covered virtually all the curriculum. That was because teachers, if they grouped at all, usually did not begin grouping until March or April, by which time the class had covered most of the sounds to be studied. In the United States, then, children got sorted and then fell behind; in France, they fell behind and then got sorted (Anderson-Levitt, 1996).

NATIONAL CLASSROOM CULTURE

The comparative video viewing study included lay people as well as teachers. As a result, it pointed to deeper layers of taken-for-granted understandings and values that teachers in France shared with lay people in France, and upon which their professional knowledge was founded. I call this deeper layer "national classroom culture."

For example, the comparative video viewing study revealed that lay people as well as teachers in France took whole-class instruction for granted, whereas teachers in the United States could not even conceive of it for first-grade reading. When I showed a video clip of French whole-class instruction to one group of U.S. teachers, they puzzled over how the French teacher managed it:

- "It amazed me that the whole class would be at the same level."
- "That's what startled me."
- "They probably weren't."
- "How can you get that many kids to be attuned to a lesson, a particular lesson?"
- "They weren't."

They could not believe that a class of 25 children would all pay attention to the same lesson, let alone all read at the same level.

However, French viewers raised equally puzzled questions about the video clip of a U.S. reading group. A father asked, "At the end of the year, do they all know how to read in the same way?" Another father wondered whether about the U.S. teacher, "Does she give more time to those who are bad, does she drop those who are good . . .?" Similarly, French teachers commented about ability grouping, "But if one group goes ahead, and the

other catches up [in skill level] ... in February or March, the latter will have missed a lot [in content], won't they?" These comments revealed that teachers in France resisted grouping in part because people there—lay people as well as teachers—believed strongly in "equality," which they defined as equal treatment of all (point 7.3 in Table 2).

When watching the same video clip and thinking about the rest of the class doing independent seatwork, French teachers also said, "Six-year-olds can't do that." French parents agreed that "certain children are incapable of getting to work or of managing by themselves." Whole-class instruction made sense, then, not only because it permitted equal treatment but because French adults did not trust first graders to do seatwork on their own while the teacher worked with one group.

Given their implicit acceptance of whole-class instruction, it went without saying for French parents as well as French teachers that lessons took place mainly at the board (point 1.3). When watching video scenes from a U.S. classroom, French parents asked, "And the board? In France, the way to teach is with the blackboard. In the United States the blackboard doesn't exist?" Further comparison revealed other elements of national classroom culture centered on teaching tools, such as a French assumption that first graders would write in cursive with Bic ballpoint pens and a U.S. assumption that first graders would print with fat pencils.

TRANSNATIONAL PROFESSIONAL CULTURE

Now, the comparative video viewing study and U.S.—French comparisons in general revealed many similarities as well as differences across countries. Grand comparison revealed—as perhaps you expect—that the teachers shared certain professional knowledge across national boundaries. For example, whereas the French structure for running reading lessons surprised U.S. teachers, certain basic assumptions behind it did not. Most teachers in both countries accepted a "mixed method" of reading instruction, one that combines the study of the letter-sound code with understanding of meaning (see for the U.S. Pressley et al., 2001:55 and Dahl et al., 1999) (point 1.4 in Table 2). Madame Durand's lesson took this mixed approach utterly for granted. It was crucial that students understood the sentence, *"j'ai été voir...,"* which they would learn to read by sight. At the same time, the whole lesson was premised on the idea of making sure that all children learned to associate the sound /v/ with the letter *v,* and more generally to practice decoding words like *voir* and syllables like *va, vi, vo.*

In another example of broad transnational professional knowledge, although French and U.S. teachers did not use exactly the same symptoms to identify students in trouble, teachers in both countries tended to talk about children having trouble as "behind schedule" (point 4.2). It was not

whether you learned to read but *when* you learned to read that mattered (Anderson-Levitt, 1996). U.S. teachers also agreed with French teachers that family problems could be an obstacle to learning to read (point 6.1). Comparing research on how teachers explain student performance from France, Belgium, Germany, and the United States shows that the teachers generally used the same kinds of explanations, such as vision, hearing, and health as well as family and milieu (Bromme, 1989; Champion, 1979; Cooper and Burger, 1980; Huber and Mandl, 1976; Lissmann, 1989; all summarized in Anderson-Levitt, 2002: Table 9.1).[7] Although the research literature did not mention that teachers also thought of speech problems as an explanation of academic problems, other first-grade teachers in France agreed with Madame Durand that there was a connection (point 5.1). Here the French teachers concurred with U.S. clinicians (despite mixed findings from research; Webster, Plante, Solomon, and Couvillion, 1997) and, I would wager, with first-grade teachers in the United States.

I refer to these kinds of understandings as *professional* knowledge because the lay people in the video viewing sessions did not seem to share them. As an example of a culture distinctive of teachers, the teachers in our study were more likely than parents to focus on the student and the student's family as source of problems, while parents were more willing to place blame on the teacher (point 6.2; see Anderson-Levitt, 2002). This is not surprising, since teachers in both countries spent the day alone with students and never had a chance to observe their colleagues, a situation that made differences among students more salient to the teachers than differences in teaching styles.

Cross-national similarities like these elements of a transnational professional culture might signal that at last we have reached a bedrock of universal common sense, based on the psychology of teaching and learning, about the ways that classrooms have to be. However, a shift to a different kind of grand comparison, historical comparison, revealed that these ideas and values were cultural as well. Take the idea that the timing of performance matters. It might seem natural to prefer that children learn quickly on the premise that timing is linked to psychobiological universals like cognitive development, readiness and maturity. However, historical comparison shows that speed has not always been valued by all educators. In the 18th century, the Christian Brothers, educational innovators in many ways, wanted their students to slog through the stages of learning to read slowly so as to have more time to absorb the catechism while in school (Vincent, 1980). It was only when private donors or the public were paying for mass schooling of poor children, as in monitorial schools, that educators valued students who passed through the stages quickly (Alexander, 2000:171; Finkelstein, 1989).

Grand historical comparison thus reveals elements of what could be called "transnational professional culture."[8] Again, we are talking about a culture in the sense of ideas constructed by human beings rather than

given in nature. As cultural ideas, they show a degree of arbitrariness, for at least a few alternative constructions have operated in the past or elsewhere. French teachers share with teachers in the United States elements of transnational professional culture, and they draw from it as well as from specifically French professional culture. Thus in Figure 1, I represent transnational knowledge as another column below the tip of the iceberg and alongside implicit national knowledge, undergirding along with the latter personal teaching knowledge.

TRANSNATIONAL CLASSROOM CULTURE

Finally, beneath transnational professional culture lie understandings and assumptions that teachers, at least in our comparative video viewing study, shared with non-teachers. These are very basic assumptions on which transnational professional culture is founded. To begin, very simply, no one questioned what a classroom was. No one looked at a videotaped lesson and asked a question out in cultural left field, such as, "What are all those kids doing in a room with one adult?" As Alexander observed in his five-nation comparison, "all...schools had classrooms" (2000:181). Beyond that, the teachers and lay people in our video viewing study all seemed to agree with Madame Durand that students learn better when the topic—in this case, Santa Claus—interests them. People in both countries also emphasized overwhelmingly how important it was that students pay attention and participate in class (point 3.1 in Table 2).

Who could argue with that? Have we not hit the bedrock of truly *common* common sense at last? Surely here we have finally identified a universal truth about the nature of teaching and learning. Yet comparison to other historical eras shows that such assumptions did not always hold. Monitorial schools were not divided into classrooms; up to 1000 students filled a single hall (Vincent, 1980). Paying attention to the teacher did not become an important classroom value until the mid-19th century—and then only because of a shift from one-room schoolhouses to age-graded schools (Vincent, 1980:26; see also Finkelstein, 1989:12, 21). "The very idea of a class centered on the teacher, toward whom all gazes converged, is a late-developing idea," writes historian Antoine Prost (1968:114). The idea that students should be interested in what they study was also controversial in the mid 19th century. In the United States, some educators of the day felt that using interest as a motivational technique would never train student to develop internalized motivation because students would come to depend on the teacher to "entertain" them (Katz, 1968). Finally, the value placed on student participation in mass elementary schooling has an even shorter history, and seems to be linked to the creation of mass secondary schools that relieved elementary schools of the burden of "covering everything" (Anderson-Levitt, 2002).

KNOWLEDGE BENEATH THE SURFACE

As Figure 1 illustrates for the case of Madame Durand's reading lesson, teachers draw on hidden layers of knowledge and assumptions and know-how and values. Much of the cultural knowledge Madame Durand used lay beneath the surface of ordinary self-conscious awareness. Her personal knowledge and the fact that she drew on the minority professional knowledge of natural method teachers would have struck any local visitor. But these personal approaches took for granted deeper funds of professional knowledge, some particular to teachers in France and some shared with colleagues in the United States. The professional knowledge took for granted, in turn, understandings and assumptions about how classrooms worked that were shared with lay people. Some of these elements of classroom culture were shared only with lay people in France, and some were shared across the Atlantic.

Comparison made the "iceberg" of Figure 1 visible. And grand comparative research made much plainer what the modest and implicit comparisons of ethnographic research had sometimes only hinted.

IMPLICATIONS FOR TEACHING: CAN TEACHERS CHANGE THEIR MINDS?

Making visible the iceberg, that is, tacit cultural knowledge, is important work. As long as behaviors or values lie below the surface, presumed "normal," "obvious" and hence universal, we assume that they cannot change. In the United States, we take the obvious and normal as psychological facts, even as biological facts, presumed immutable. But once you demonstrate the cultural nature of a behavior or value by demonstrating that it is not universal, you open it up to question—thus "expanding the repertoire of the possible," as Joseph Tobin puts it (1999:129). You push us to ask, "But why do we believe this or do that *instead of something else*?" You even allow us to ask, if we dare, "But why don't we change what we believe? Why don't we try a different behavior?" For if culture is a human construction, learned and taught, then it is open to change.

The depth of the iceberg, however, warns us to be realistic about change. Comparative analysis suggests that change is difficult and that some ideas will be more difficult to change than others. For the most part, we can't expect to change teachers' minds simply by offering a new pre-service or in-service training course. Not all of the knowledge in Figure 1 could have been learned in a school of education. In fact, teachers in training in France would have heard messages contrary to certain elements of this know-how.[9] Education professors and school inspectors in France not

only encouraged teachers to form ability groups early, but also argued against the teachers' schedule for instruction, which introduced blending "too early" in their view. Moreover, not all the knowledge used by Madame Durand was learned on the job. There were understandings about classrooms that Madame Durand shared with non-teachers in France and understandings she shared with people in both France and the United States. She had access to these layers of understanding long before she entered the classroom as a teacher.

The French case suggests that beliefs and values woven into the national classroom culture, which belong to the concrete childhood and parental experiences of both teachers and their lay neighbors, prove highly resistant to change. For example, inspectors have succeeded over the course of almost 30 years of effort in persuading some teachers in France to experiment with ability grouping. However, so far the inspectors have *not* persuaded teachers to group students early in the year (as suggested in Ministry of Education documents), apparently because to do so violates, as we saw, the deeper premise of national culture that equality means equal treatment. The Ministry of Education did manage to violate the premise of equal treatment at an institutional level, by establishing in the 1980s a system of special and hence unequal compensation to schools in the poorest zones (van Zanten, 1997). Perhaps after this institutional inequality has been in effect for another decade—or another generation—teachers will change their minds about the need for equal treatment in the classroom. Or perhaps not.

Moreover, there are institutional arrangements that make it difficult for teachers to change certain ideas or values. For example, you cannot expect many teachers to shift their focus away from the traits of individual children as long as they teach in "egg-carton schools," which channel their attention onto the variation among children within their class while making it difficult to compare their own teaching with their colleagues' practices. Similarly, you cannot expect teachers to break free from evaluating success and failure in terms of timing as long as they are caught in an institutional web of stages of instruction and graded classes that make up our system of mass education (see Anderson-Levitt, 2002 for an elaboration of these arguments).

Nonetheless, to point out that teaching cultures are deeply rooted is not to say that they cannot change at all. As the historical comparisons made clear, teaching cultures do change. Real change happens incrementally as individual teachers change their practices. For example, blackboards would not have become a standard tool in France if individual French teachers had not come to use them at a point late in the 19th century. In contrast, blackboards are not an important tool in the United States, even though they cover the walls of many classrooms, because teachers no longer use them very much.[10] Grouping would not have become standard practice in the United States if individual teachers had not begun to prac-

tice grouping in the 1930s and 1940s (Anderson and Ritscher, 1969). Teachers who challenge common know-how, values, and beliefs face a steeply uphill battle against current institutional arrangements and deep cultural knowledge, but in the long run, institutional arrangements and deep knowledge can change.

IMPLICATIONS FOR TEACHER EDUCATION

The first step in any change for the better in what teachers know or value or know how to do is awareness of what they already know and value and know how to do. If teachers are to reflect deeply on their own knowledge and practice, they need tools to help them take notice of what they ordinarily take for granted. This chapter has argued that grand comparison across national boundaries and across historical eras is one of the best tools for provoking such awareness. It follows that foundations courses in comparative education and in the history of education (and in the anthropology of education, which looks at learning outside as well as inside schools) should be at the core of preparation for reflective practice.

If such courses have tended to drop out or to droop in importance in pre-service education, perhaps it is because teacher educators and teachers have not recognized them as tools for critical self-reflection. Or perhaps it is because these courses do not look like they suit our obsession in schools of education with the nuts and bolts of methodology (Goodlad, 1998). I propose, then, as a starting point in pre-service education comparative and historical study focused on classroom practice, as is this chapter. Classroom practice is, after all, the issue that most interests teachers and future teachers, and the one over which they have the most control. Pre-service teachers will discover the relevance of the comparative and historical study of larger issues, such as the structure of school systems and the very emergence of mass education in different countries, once they discover what we take for granted about teaching, and ask why we do so.

It must be understood at the start, of course, that we engage in the comparative study of teaching practices not to seek methods to borrow, but to provoke critical thinking about the methods already adopted. Likewise, it must be understood from the start that we engage in studying the history of education—the world history of education—not to congratulate ourselves on our progress from "backward" practices of the past. If we have already "arrived," there would be little point in studying past teaching practices. Rather, we study the world history of education to discover alternatives and options, other solutions that may have been no less successful than some of our current practices (As some elder educators said to me in West Africa, "After all, the old methods did produce some of our best leaders"). Again, we would seek not to borrow from the past but to provoke

critical thinking about alterative ways in which it is, has been, and might be possible to organize learning and teaching.

NOTES

1. I have analyzed *Madame Durand's lesson on the sound of v before* (Anderson-Levitt, 1987), but have since conducted more comparative work and am in a better position to illustrate what we can learn from comparison. Parts of this chapter were developed as a talk for the American Educational Studies Association, Detroit, October 28, 1999, thanks to an invitation from Bryan Brayboy. Parts were developed in Anderson-Levitt, 2002. The research described here was supported by the Council on European Studies, the National Science Foundation, the National Institute of Mental Health, a University of Michigan Rackham Grant, and grants from the University of Michigan-Dearborn. Amy Anderson helped me conduct the video viewing study. I am grateful to the many teachers and other educators who made the studies possible.

2. As was the custom in most first grades at the time, she wrote in lower-case letters only.

3. Sometimes it is useful to compare across even bigger units, world regions such as the "West" versus the "rest." For example, lately I have had the opportunity to do research in Guinea, West Africa. Looking at how a "developing" nation like Guinea pursues educational reform makes visible elements of teaching culture that I had previously taken for granted in both France and the United States, such as the assumption that textbooks will in fact be available (Anderson-Levitt and Alimasi, 2001).

4. The early anthropologists who invented grand comparisons before inventing ethnography developed some flimsy theories, such as the notion of primitive matriarchy, which later scholars had to undo on the basis of solid ethnography and history.

5. Influenced by Célestin Freinet's movement (e.g., Temple, Haché de Yunén, and Montenegro, 1994), the natural method resembles the "language experience" method that appeared in the United States in the 1920s (Smith, 1965).

6. Reading instruction also changes over time. Thus Allington and colleagues described literature-based classrooms in the mid-1990s in which children spent somewhat more time listening to the teacher read and reading independently, and less time doing seatwork, than in classrooms 20 years earlier (1996:85). At the same moment in history, California was reforming its curriculum to place more explicit emphasis on letter-sound correspondences (California Reading Task Force, 1995; see also Stahl, 1999). However, for the purpose of making implicit culture more explicit, changes at the very explicit level of reform, at the stormy surface of schooling, do not matter as much as the practices at the slow-changing ocean floor, to use Cuban's metaphor (1993).

7. In Anderson-Levitt (2002), I listed student traits like "intelligence" and "effort" as knowledge shared by lay people as well as teachers, on the grounds that these concepts are rooted in cross-national pop psychology. However, here I list them as professional knowledge because the studies to which I refer concerned teachers only.

8. "Transnational" does not necessarily mean global or universal. If I had compared France with China, or the United States with Japan, I probably would have identified a different list of knowledge held in common.

9. As it happened, Madame Durand had not passed through a school of education. Like about half the teachers of her generation, she had been recruited into teaching without much formal training, although her methods closely resembled those of formally trained teachers (Anderson-Levitt, 2002).

10. France's Pedagogical Dictionary, the "Bible" for teachers published in the 1880s, urged teachers to emulate other countries (including the United States!) where blackboards and slates were used much more heavily (Brouard, 1887). As their practice today illustrates, teachers in France embraced this suggestion whole-heartedly.

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CHAPTER 7

TRAINING JEWISH AND ARAB SCHOOL COUNSELORS IN ISRAEL
Exploring a Professional Identity in a Conflicted Society

Hanoch Flum and Avi Kaplan

School counseling in Israel is a complex and multi-faceted profession. The role of the school counselor in Israel is rather loosely defined and current formal guidelines allow for flexible boundaries in the actual definition of the school counselor's practice. Indeed, in the field, school counseling takes form according to the personal approach of the counselor and the context of each specific school, the special needs of the school and at times the supervision that the counselor receives (Hellman, 1999). Nevertheless, more often than not, the school counselor functions as a core member of the school's administrative team, is the school-staff member who is in charge of students' well-being and is responsible for implementing inter-

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ventions and evaluating them. In the day-to-day work, the Israeli school counselor may encounter, and be required to deal with, a variety of issues ranging from a rejected child, through a disruptive class and teachers' difficulties, to violence between groups of students that is based in interethnic conflicts. Often counselors are leading members of teams that deal with tracking and guidance (e.g. vocational guidance, especially at high schools). In some schools, the school counselor will be involved in activities such as developing and evaluating programs for special education and gifted students, helping design in-service workshops for teachers, and coordinating the extra-curricular activities that take place in the school.

To complicate things further, the Israeli school system grants cultural autonomy to various groups, and the schools that provide the work setting for counselors may belong to any of various sub-systems that are defined on the basis of multiple dimensions—Jewish-Arab, secular-religious, vocational-academic, to name a few. This situation provides for a rather vague job description for the school counselor—an issue that has been under debate for years in the educational community as it has disadvantages but quite a few advantages as well. Certainly, it has been an issue to contend with for school counseling training programs.

Training programs for school counselors in Israel have not been specific for particular sub-school systems. Therefore, student bodies in these programs have been quite diverse. Diversity has received special emphasis in the past two years, since the Ministry of Education responded to the serious shortage of school counselors in the Arab school system and allocated funds to train counselors specifically for this school system. In the past two years, four of the five universities in Israel opened school counseling training programs specifically for counselors planning to work in the Arab school system. Not surprisingly, all of the students enrolled in these programs were Arab themselves. Whereas in some universities, students in the program that was training counselors for the Arab school system and in the regular program learned separately, at Ben Gurion University of the Negev, students from the two programs learn together. This created a rather unique context in the school counseling program: Jewish and Arab students and teachers who were used to settings in which Jews were the majority suddenly attended courses where Jews and Arabs were equally represented, and at times even had a majority of Arab students. Moreover, for the first time, the issue of the distinct school systems, with their different characteristics, and the implications for the role of the school counselor, were brought to the fore in the training program.

In this chapter we describe the processes that took place during the first year of the school counseling training program that included the program for the Arab school system. More specifically, we will focus on the core course of the program—a course that focuses on the development of a professional identity as a school counselor. In the first part of the chapter, we provide a general background on the Israeli school system, on school

counseling in Israel, and on the training programs for school counseling at Ben Gurion University of the Negev. In the second part of the chapter, we describe in detail the group of students that participated in the course and the socio-political milieu that was the background for the processes that took place in the group during the academic year 2001-2002. We then present the main themes that emerged in the course of the year of study—themes that highlight the processes that the Jewish and Arab school counseling students confronted as they interacted and explored what it means to be a school counselor in a multi-cultural conflicted and stratified society.

PART I: TRAINING SCHOOL COUNSELORS IN ISRAEL

The Israeli School System

The Israeli school system is comprised of three general sub-systems: a secular public school system, a religious school system, and an Arab school system. In addition, there are a few smaller ultra-orthodox school systems that are not directly under the supervision of the Ministry of Education. In the 2001-2002 school year, there were approximately 1,350,000 students in Israel, distributed approximately in 50,000 classrooms in 4200 schools (Ministry of Education, 2002a). Among these students, 81% learn in the Jewish schools, where the spoken language is Hebrew, and 19% learn in the Arab school system, where the spoken language is Arabic (Ministry of Education, 2002b).

The structure and nature of the school system in Israel is the result of socio-historical processes, among which arguably the most important has been the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948. The establishment of the state, which took place after a war between Jews and Arabs, resulted with radical changes in all domains of life—including, of course, in the education system. During the British rule in the area between 1918 and 1948 (that included territory that at 1948 became Israel as well as territory that was annexed to Jordan), the Arab majority had several independent school systems, which included a national Arab school system, a private Muslim school system and a private Christian school system. The Jewish minority also had several school systems including two secular Jewish school systems affiliated with different political movements, a religious system, and a relatively small ultra-orthodox school system (Swirski, 1990; Zameret, 1997). After the establishment of the state, the situation changed dramatically. Many of the Arabs who lived in the territory that became Israel left or were driven out. Among those were most of the middle- and upper-class segments of the population—a process that turned the Arab majority into a relatively poor and uneducated minority. In addition, the

establishment of the Jewish state instigated a mass immigration of hundreds of thousands of Jews from all over the world to Israel. Between the years 1948 and 1952, approximately 700,000 people arrived—a third of which were school-age children—practically doubling the number of Jews living in the country. All this was happening while the dominant European-descended Jewish political movements were struggling among themselves over control in the new state. An important aspect of this fight revolved around influence of the education of the immigrants, half of which came from Arab speaking countries (Zameret, 1997). All those in power were out to "convert" the immigrants into the new Israeli culture—attempting to remove characteristics of their "primitive" home culture and instill a "modern" appearance in line with the ethos of the Zionist pioneer. The fiercest ideological and power struggle was between the secular and the religious movements. The compromise that was reached led to the constitution of the National Education Law in 1953, which provided the secular movement control over much of the education system, and the religious movement an official independent status and control over the religious schools. The Jewish immigrants from the Arab speaking countries had little or no say in the matter. And as gaps appeared between the achievements of students who came from different backgrounds, various policies were instated that resulted with tracking students from different backgrounds to different types of high schools (Yonah & Saporta, 2002). In recent years, awareness to discrimination has brought about a more egalitarian treatment of diversity. Nevertheless, Jewish Israeli schools still represent an economic stratification that exists in the wider society. And this issue is again in the fore with the large wave of over a million immigrants who arrived to Israel during the 1990s from such countries as the former Soviet Union and from Ethiopia (Central Bureau of Statistics, 2002). Today, the average Jewish Israeli school is extremely diverse, with populations that are composed of students who were born in different countries and speak different native languages.

In comparison to what was happening in the Jewish schools after the establishment of the state, the situation in the Arab schools was worse. Whereas the Arab school system received immediately an autonomous status, the concern of those in charge of education in the new state with the mass immigration of Jews made the Arab sector a low priority (Swirsky, 1990; Abu-Sa'ad, 2001). The supervision over the Arab schools was given to a separate department in the new Ministry of Education, an administrative unit that exists to this day. This unit did not receive a special budget but rather was dependent on the various other departments in the Ministry. In addition, the person in charge of this unit, at least until 1987, was Jewish as were many of the other position-holders in the unit (Swirsky, 1990). Moreover, during the first 8 years after the establishment of the state, the Arab population was under a military administration, a situation that meant significant limitations on movement and on employment, and a close surveil-

lance of all aspects of life. Indeed, the appointment of teachers and principals in the Arab schools continued to be supervised by the security institutions years after the military administration was cancelled (Lustick, 1980). Thus, the seeming autonomy provided to the Arab school system meant, in fact, an almost total separation from the Jewish schools and a significant discrimination.

Starting in the mid 1980s, changes in policies towards the Arab school system resulted with development plans and increased budgets. However, while the situation in the Arab school system is somewhat better, there is still much to be desired (see Assadi, 1998). Even after the application of the development plan at the beginning of the 1990s, there are significant gaps between the Jewish and the Arab school systems that manifest in budget allocations and in educational outcomes such as drop-out rates and entitlement for high-school matriculation diplomas (Central Bureau of Statistics, 2001; Ministry of Education, 2001c).

The Bedouin in the Negev

The Arab schools in Israel did not have to deal with immigration. However, the Arab population in Israel is also very diverse. The various Arab groups in the country represent different religions, different regions, and different historical and traditional character. Among the Arabs in Israel, the Bedouin in the Negev are in the most difficult situation. This group of people, which is comprised of historically nomadic or semi-nomadic tribes, numbers approximately 120,000 people (Abu-Sa'ad, 2001). Before the establishment of the state, most of the Bedouin were making their living through raising sheep and seasonal agriculture. This type of livelihood was severely limited after the war of 1948 and during the Military administration. Additional changes to the traditional way of life were introduced during the 1970s, when the Israeli government built 7 urban-style towns and planned to settle all the Bedouin in these towns. Many Bedouin resisted the move to the towns, and presently only about 50% of the population lives in these towns. The rest continue to live in unrecognized villages (Statistical Yearbook of the Negev Bedouin, 1999). The latter face intense pressure from the government in the form of denial of services such as roads, electricity, rubbish disposal, and community health services and denial of licenses for building. Children of the Bedouin who are living in unrecognized towns do go to schools that were built before the construction of the towns, but these schools have been labeled "temporary" by the state and were not allowed to expand or to be renovated (Abu-Sa'ad, 1997). The Bedouin who live in the towns became almost completely dependent on the Israeli economy for their livelihood. And since the level of education in the Bedouin schools was and continues to be the lowest in the country,

many of the Bedouin can only hold low-status low-paying jobs that involve unskilled labor (Abu-Sa'ad, 2001; Ghanem, 1998). Overall, the Bedouin of the Negev comprise the lowest socio-economical group in Israel. Their birthrate is among the highest in the world (5.0%), and approximately 55% of the population is under the age of 14 (Abu-Sa'ad, 2001; Statistical Yearbook of the Negev Bedouin, 1999).

Similar to many other schools around the world, schools in Israel experience the pressure of the information age. In the Arab schools in Israel, the pressure and the associated conflicts are particularly strong. Arab educators face serious questions that result from the difficulty to maneuver between powerful traditional elements in the Arab society, which demand the socialization of Arab children to traditional cultural values, and the demands of life in the Western technologically-oriented Israeli society and of education in the information-age (Abu-Asbah, 1998). These conflicts are probably most extreme in the Bedouin schools that are embedded in one of the most traditional Arab societies in the country (Abu-Sa'ad, 1997). As becomes clear later on, this issue is highly relevant to the training of school counselors for the Bedouin school system, as the concept of counseling itself is foreign to the Bedouin culture.

School Counseling Israel

As can be concluded from the previous introductory sections, the socio-political situation in Israel, historical processes, the diversity of the population, and the multiple cultural and social transitions experienced by the different sectors of Israeli society are among many factors that underscore the need for a highly skilled professional in the school system with responsibility for the well-being of students. Hellman (1999) lists the variety of roles that a school counselor in Israel is expected to play:

a. individual counseling,
b. classroom guidance,
c. group counseling,
d. consultation with teachers, parents, administrators,
e. organizational consultation,
f. co-ordination and work in a team,
g. transitions (to a different school—high school, etc.),
h. crisis intervention (especially typical of the work of an Israeli counselor) (p. 128).

Statistics from the mid-90s show that the vast majority of Jewish schools had counselors (nearly 80% of the schools) and only a minority of Arab schools (less than 40%) had counselors. The current objective is to significantly raise the number of skillful school counselors in the latter.

Another policy change affects the school counseling training programs. In recent years the educational requirements for certification as a school counselor were upgraded. According to Ministry of Education regulations a school counselor has to have an MA degree in counseling. As a result applicants to the MA program in educational counseling include novices as well as experienced counselors.

Training School Counselors at Ben Gurion University of the Negev

The School Counseling program at the Department of Education in Ben Gurion University has been admitting MA students since 1988. The program is competitive. Every year, approximately 15 students are admitted out of over 100 applicants. Students considered for admission have a BA in the social sciences with a GPA of at least 85. These students also have had to fulfill certain prerequisite courses in psychology, have at least some demonstrated experience in a counseling or a counseling-related setting, have strong letters of recommendation from the academia and from practitioners (e.g., educators, counselors, psychologists), and have successfully demonstrated required cognitive and emotional characteristics in interviews conducted with two different interviewers. Most students applying for the program are women, many of them have just finished their BA. Every year, however, there are a few students who are older, some with significant experience in the school system and some even in school counseling.

The program is designed for two years of study and involves somewhat overlapping academic and practice-oriented components. In the academic courses, students are required to take classes that focus on individual psychological processes as well as social and organizational processes at the level of the classroom, school, and community. In the practice-oriented courses, students are required to take courses that focus on counseling skills. In addition, students are required to spend approximately one day a week (approximately 100 hours throughout the school year) observing a master counselor in a school. This field experience is supplemented by a weekly meeting at the university where issues observed at the school can be brought up and discussed.

The Special Program for School Counselors in the Bedouin School System

In the academic year 2000-2001, the Ministry of Education allotted funds to universities to open special programs to train school counselors

for the Arab school system. Four of the five universities in Israel, including Ben Gurion University of the Negev, responded by opening programs in parallel with the regular counseling program. As part of the mission of Ben Gurion University of the Negev involves a commitment to the Negev region in which the Arab population is mostly Bedouin, the program was designed specifically for the Bedouin schools. This special program had to be slightly different from the regular counseling program. One reason was that most Bedouin and Arab students who applied to this program did not major in the social sciences and did not take the courses in psychology that are prerequisite for the counseling program. This necessitated adding a year to the program in which students would study these topics. And thus, during the first year of their program, students in the special program for school counseling in the Bedouin schools took courses in developmental psychology, educational psychology, educational philosophy, and group dynamics. Another reason for the somewhat different nature of the program was its definition as targeting a specific school system. This required adding courses or activities that would concern the Bedouin culture and school system.

While planning the program for school counseling in the Bedouin schools proved to be a challenging task, introducing the program into the department alongside the regular program was even more challenging. Opening a program that is geared specifically to the Arab population in an Israeli university where classes are conducted in Hebrew raised a multitude of issues. The obvious issues involved ethics and potential actual and perceived discrimination. Furthermore, however, the idea of training counselors for a specific school system raised substantial questions concerning the conception and purpose of a general training program of school counselors. Whereas school systems, particularly those that are based in different cultures, have unique characteristics, the differences between schools within these systems are as large as the differences between them. Should training school counselors be specific to a school system, type of school, type of neighborhood, etc.? Can one program give an answer to training school counselors for the diversity in schools that they would meet? And, very importantly, what message would be sent with regard to the values embraced by the staff if the students in the two programs would learn separately? There were different opinions in the staff about these questions. Certainly, the discussions were fruitful. Their result was, first, that except for the first year in the special program for the Bedouin schools, students in the two programs would learn together; and second, that the staff would employ students' diverse backgrounds and future work contexts as an asset to the development of professional identity and counseling skills. This was to be implemented in every course in the program, but mostly in the core course: Evaluation Tools for the School Counselor.

Evaluation Tools for the School Counselor: A Focus on Developing a Professional Identity

Unlike most courses in the program that are content-based courses, this core course is, by and large, a process-based course. While the main, bottom line, goal of the course is to promote the students' construction of their professional identity as being integrated to their personal identity, the intermediate objectives focus on various aspects of the development of a professional approach to school counseling (*What* does it mean to be a school counselor?) and the concomitant method to translate this approach to practice (the '*How,*' or the principles of action). As will be explained later, the 'what' and the 'how' are mutually related and therefore inseparable and encompass the self of the counselor as an actor (e.g. what does it mean to me...?) and the relevant context (e.g. the school, the community). Hence, central to the general goal of the course process are the experience of reflexivity and the internalization of a reflexive action as a focal point in the work of the counselor.

The learning task in the course is multifaceted and complex. It combines an engagement in self-processes and the question how they relate to professional themes, the conflicts and the dilemmas that are inherent to the role of the counselor. As will be soon clarified, participants are challenged internally and by others simultaneously.

Much of the learning process in the course is relational. This reflects our assumption about the significance of knowledge construction through social interaction and our belief in the interplay between the individual and the social in identity development. It helps to emphasize the roots of one's perception in culture and in the sociopolitical context; to utilize processes of mirroring, clarification, and validation; and to practice the relational nature of the counselor's work while gaining an experience in a collaborative mode as a model for an effective counselor's approach to action. Indeed, this experience facilitates the search for a way to maximize the effectiveness of the work of the school counselor and the development of an emphasis on a *system-oriented approach.*

Development of self-knowledge and professional knowledge is a social and relational endeavor. We assume that the students have enough knowledge, skills and experience in common for the group to be able to work together and to benefit from various group configurations (dyads, small groups and a large group). For the learning or developmental process to take place, however, we rely on differential experience among them. Indeed, this aspect of the structure of the process bears similarity to Vygotzky's concept of the "*zone of proximal development.*" Vygotzky refers to the zone of proximal development as "the distance between the actual developmental level as determined by independent problem solving and the level of potential development as determined through problem solving

under adult guidance or in collaboration with more capable peers" (1978, p. 86). The kind of learning process in our case is, of course, different than the kind that Vygotzky seems to have aimed for and so are the type of students that he alludes to. But, nevertheless, the basic conception applies. Michael Cole (1985) translates the idea of the zone of proximal development to a "general conception as the structure of joint activity in any context where there are participants who exercise differential responsibility by virtue of differential expertise" (p. 155).

This conceptual framework is not only useful in explaining the learning and development that takes place in the process that we try to promote, but also in locating our own role as "instructors." Indeed, our role as instructors is minimized and secondary to our role as facilitators. We frame the process and structure it with an emphasis on creating what we term "*constructive ambiguity.*" A sense of ambiguity involves a feeling (or cognition) of deficit in understanding (or a sense of confusion) that in turn motivates to *explore*, to enhance understanding and reduce the ambiguity. Hence, instead of providing answers, articulating values, and presenting solutions, we induce ambiguity in order to motivate the students to explore themselves. By creating situations that motivate students to question and search internally and in dialogue with others we facilitate a process that requires them to take responsibility and to get involved in exploration (Flum, 2002). It also facilitates their work within the zone of proximal development.

Constructive ambiguity is, thus, instrumental in triggering an exploratory action, a *self-involved action* in search of meaning (Flum, 2002). Since all students experience some degree of ambiguity, but not necessarily the same level, students provide the scaffolding for each other and the exploration process is at the same time a relational process and *joint action* (Flum, 2002). Individuals bring into the group their sense of confusion. The group contains the confusion and functions as a 'holding environment' (Winnicott, 1965); and through peer interaction and dialogue students provide mirroring, models for identification, validation, and clarification as relational aspects of the exploratory activity besides the support. Hence, peers are active in the zone of proximal development.

Exploration is a process that is crucial for identity development, and is a significant experience in the service of internalization and integration (Flum & Blustein, 2000). At the same time, students' active involvement in the learning process within the zone of proximal development through certain types of exploratory action is also documented (Hedegaard, 1990). As instructors-facilitators we try not to impede the process by exercising too much control and excessive intervention. But we have to be there for the students. Our role is to contain the ambiguity and confusion with the rest of the group, to furnish the exploration process with scaffolding like the other students (e.g. to encourage reflexivity, to offer emphatic response, to question). Sometimes, at the end of a certain discussion that

requires some conclusion, we give a brief summary that encompasses their contributions and provides the students with validation along with a step for those who seem to have been left behind in order to facilitate an upgrade to their exploration process. In addition, we assess the process and the location of individuals after each meeting and plan the structure in terms of specific objective, focus, question, group configuration. In other words, we assess the process vis-à-vis the zone of proximal development and what could be our contribution to scaffolding (as much as it could be planned ahead). Scaffolding is essential for "constructive ambiguity" to remain constructive, to overcome the confusion through exploration and to contribute to the construction of identity and sense of autonomy.

Indeed, too little ambiguity would not stimulate the motivation to explore and challenge constructive work. Too much ambiguity might overwhelm, induce unbearable anxiety and produce helplessness. This might lead to paralysis or defensive response. There should be a balance that would enable students to take the initiative and move into action to seek a coherent enough resolution. Inevitably, the encounter of ambiguity is not pleasant and introduces some anxiety. The tricky point is to turn it into a constructive process that would enhance self-determination, a sense of autonomy and mastery (Flum & Blustein, 2000).

An important factor that should not be overlooked is individual differences in the capability to cope with ambiguity and to work constructively in this kind of situation. Moreover, some of these individual differences can be expected to be culturally rooted. Individuals grew up in more or less structured environments. Some may have, for instance, experienced very little space for personal exploration and initiative growing up as a woman in a traditional culture with a strong emphasis on hierarchy. Again, the danger is that individuals would resort to defensive measures that could block any learning and development. However, the experience of constructive ambiguity and especially the relational aspect of the situation (via mirroring, modeling, and identification, validation) can mitigate defensiveness and enhance the learning to cope with ambiguous situations. Therefore, the assessment of where each one of the students, as well as the group as a whole, is in relation to the zone of proximal development is so significant and the need to provide the right scaffolding is essential.

Ambiguous situations are, of course, inherent to the work of the school counselor. Ambiguity is often experienced by counselors and is regarded as one of the central features of the counselor's role, along with flexibility and autonomy. Hence, constructive ambiguity as a characteristic of the learning process is a certain simulation of what the students encounter or will encounter in the field. This underscores the importance of learning to cope with ambiguous situations experientially and to turn it to a powerful professional tool that promotes the individual's sense of autonomy and professional mastery.

For constructive ambiguity to be effective it has to operate within clear boundaries bound by the general goals, with enough space for exploration. Our pre-defined boundaries include some practical objectives set in time (e.g. deadline for certain course activities). And there is no ambiguity about these objectives. Indeed, the major milestones are dictated by the course goal to facilitate the development of a professional approach and a practical, suitable, and contextualized method to carry it out. We aim at developing a work tool that could serve the counselor as a backbone of professional activities in the school (and the community); a tool that would promote the counselor's sense of self-determination, support autonomy and a sense of professional competence and mastery.

Action Research Model

While each participant develops the actual tool in context, the model that we clearly advocate as a general approach is an *action research* model. As a general approach this model provides a flexible and dynamic guideline for systematic action. It offers much needed basic structure in which a diagnostic process (i.e. need assessment) is carried out and supplies the data for the selection of foci for the counselor's action (cf. Nuttall & Ivey, 1978). The counselor's work plan is therefore grounded in a systematic process that is contextualized, reflexive, informed by research and the relevant body of knowledge, evaluated and updated in some regularity. Indeed, built into the counselor's action, into the intervention plan, is an evaluative dimension that in turn informs the next step of action.

The practice of this model, or the translation of this model to practical experience as part of the learning process further promotes the participant's system orientation. Moreover, this experience is instrumental in counteracting problematic issues that are often described as obstacles in the counselor's functioning. These obstacles, pitfalls or dilemmas (e.g. being pulled in various directions and losing control or autonomy; ambiguity of expectations; loneliness) are widely explored by students who look for a way to cope with them. Action research as a general framework supplies an antidote and enhances professional efficacy.

Action research serves as an anchor that can help the counselor to prevent drifting and is an important foundation in the construction of professional identity. An overview of the process of the course as a whole would reveal the action research principles that are applied in framing and conducting this experiential process. In brief, the process that the students have experienced is a kind of a prototype of the approach that they are expected to internalize and practice.

PART II: EXPLORING A PROFESSIONAL IDENTITY AS A SCHOOL COUNSELOR IN A MULTI-CULTURAL CONTEXT

The academic year 2001-2002 was a difficult year in Israel. The failure in 2000 of the Israeli and Palestinian leaders to reach a peace agreement led to escalation in the conflict and to the deterioration in the intergroup relations between Jews and Arabs. In October 2000, a harsh response of the police to violent demonstrations in Arab villages within Israel resulted with 13 casualties—an event that is presently under investigation by a national inquiry committee. The following year was a period with security threats, suicide bombings that took the life of many citizens, and intense military activity of the Israeli army in the West Bank with many casualties on both sides. The tension between Jews and Arabs and the loss of hope in the betterment of conditions led to the collapse of many programs that targeted facilitation of co-existence and reconciliation. Many Israeli Jews and Arabs lost faith and interest in such an interaction.

It was in this socio-political context that a group of 37 students—15 Jews and 22 Arabs—started their studies in the MA program for School Counseling. For the course Evaluation Tools for the School Counselor, this group of 37 students was divided into two sections. The 17 students who attended the section co-taught by the authors composed a uniquely diverse group. The diversity was multi-dimensional and included crosscutting categories and sub-categories such as gender, ethnicity, religion, age, marital status, and experience in counseling. Two out of the 17 students in the group were men. Both men were Arab, but one was a Bedouin from a village in the Negev, whereas the other was a Muslim Arab from a village in the center of Israel. Both men were teachers with several years of experience in the Bedouin school system. Among the fifteen women, nine were Arab and six were Jewish. Among the Arab women, four were Bedouin from the Negev, two were Druze from the north, and three were from villages in the center and north of the country. Two of the latter were Muslim, and one was Christian. In Bedouin society, individuals are identified by their family and tribe, and the hierarchy among the tribes is significant and clear. A number of tribes are represented in the group, tribes of different status. Among the Arab women, three were employed as school counselors. All other Arab women had several years of experience as teachers in the Bedouin school system, and some of them also held administrative positions in the school. Among the Jewish women, three finished their undergraduate degrees the previous year and had no or limited experience in teaching. Of the other three, two were employed as school counselors, one with 15 years of experience and the other with 2 years of experience.

This group met with us 20 times during the academic year. During the meetings, both authors took field notes. The field notes included structural events such as seating positions and work-team membership as well as

processes such as interactions among the people present. At the end of each meeting, the authors met, went over the two sets of notes, and wrote down a thick description of what happened in the meeting. These descriptions provided the material for the analysis of processes that took place during the year and that will be presented hereafter. The analysis focused on identifying themes that stand out in portraying the development in professional identity that took place in this heterogeneous group. Five of these themes are presented in this chapter.[1] The first theme concerns students' responses to the ambiguous nature of the course and the exploratory processes that this ambiguity elicits. The second depicts in more detail a focus on "the ideal versus the actual" as a strategy for eliciting exploration of self and setting, and the nature of this exploration in this particular group. The third theme deals with the counselor as one who is reacting to the demands, expectations, and events in the school processes versus as one who is proactive in initiating processes. The related fourth theme concerns coping with loneliness as an inherent aspect of the role of the school counselor and the adoption of a collaborative model of action research as an effective strategy that ameliorates this sense of loneliness. And the fifth theme describes the cultural encounter between counseling as a Western profession and the traditional Middle-Eastern Bedouin society. In each of these themes the interaction among the various members of the group and the construction of zones of proximal development play the central moving forces of the development of the meaning of being a school counselor within each and every individual and in the group as a whole. We conclude by summarizing the approach that guides us in constructing a learning environment that stimulates the development of the self as a counselor in a multi-cultural society.

Constructive Ambiguity and Reflective Exploration

The first meeting of the course Evaluation Tools for the School Counselor involves a presentation of the course as unique. The presentation focuses on the fact that there is no syllabus, no pre-defined content or reading list, and no rigid set of assignments. Rather, the initial presentation highlights to the students the emphasis on process, and more so, on the process of exploring the meaning of being a school counselor. This non-traditional character of the course is designed to create an experience of ambiguity. As with almost any other group of students that previously took the course, the ambiguous structure contributed to a sense of unease among many of the students, at least at the beginning. Perhaps because of their perception that the counseling program is geared towards the acquisition of professional tools, and probably also because of the expectations created by the course's title, some frustration with the ambiguous experi-

ence surfaced quite early. This was expressed explicitly when one student opened the third meeting of the course by asking rather indignantly about the purpose of the course and the meetings and how these are related to the course's title. She continued to say that this question occupied her the whole week. When the instructors turned the question back at the students, a conversation ensued that aired speculations about the purpose of the course, and emotions that the unstructured experience has raised among the students.

This conversation highlighted both the diversity in the group and the zones of proximal development that were formed by the interaction among students with different backgrounds. Some students, for example, started the conversation by simply describing their frustration with the unclear goals and direction in the course. Others, however, already started to reflect on the developmental processes that this ambiguous experience has triggered. One experienced counselor noted that she now understands that the course focuses on developing an orientation to processes. She also said that exploring personal processes is necessary before one turns to explore processes in the school system. Another student noted the way by which the ambiguous nature of the course demands exploration. This student also had the insight that such ambiguity reflects reality—a point that became a focus for discussion later in the course. These students introduced the idea that the ambiguous environment actually contributes to potentially important reflection that is relevant for those intending to be school counselors. They thus provided a model of a more sophisticated and positive way of thinking about ambiguity and about the course. Soon after, those students who initially were only expressing frustration started to describe their own processes of exploration and reflection.

The diversity among the students was also apparent in differences in ways of coping with the experience of ambiguity. For most students, this course was different from anything they experienced previously in an academic setting, and several noted that they feel much more comfortable when the goals of the course are spelled out. One student, for example, described his strategy of coping with unclear goals as sitting back and waiting for others to speak first. Other students, however, indicated that they do not feel uncomfortable with the ambiguity. One of these students said that she trusts the instructors, that she likes the setting in which there is a lot of open interaction, and that she actually feels more like herself in this course than in other courses. Again, the explicit exposure to the various manners by which people cope with ambiguity highlighted for students multiple meanings of ambiguity and created zones of proximal development in which students broadened their repertoire of coping strategies with ambiguous situations. Exploring strategies for coping with ambiguous situations is an essential process for the school counselor, and the foundation for such an orientation to ambiguity that was laid at the beginning of

the course emerged later in more focused discussions on the ways by which school counselors cope with the requirements of their job.

At the beginning of the fourth meeting, it was we, the instructors, who asked the students to continue and relate to the ambiguous and vague process in the course. From the discussion that followed, it was clear that almost all of the students have been engaging in reflection over their experiences in the course and how these may have contributed to development. Almost all the students described processes of reflective exploration that were instigated by the ambiguity and the discussion at the previous meeting. This exploration was described in reference to personal, interpersonal, and professional processes. Several students commented on how the process made them think about themselves and their personal qualities. Some students emphasized the benefit of the open interaction with people from different backgrounds to learning about others as well as about the self. And some students noted how their thoughts about counseling have changed through the joint exploration in the meetings.

Perhaps the clearest reference to the feeling of potential growth that such an environment can create was made by one student who during the conversation in the fourth meeting suggested the metaphor of "birth" for his experience, with him as the woman in labor and the instructors and other students as midwifes—all waiting to see what the sex of the baby is going to be.

Guiding the Exploration: Highlighting the Discrepancy Between the Ideal and the Actual

The exploration of self and setting in relation to the course overlaps with the exploration of self and setting that the students conduct in relation to school counseling. This, of course, is not incidental, as it is one of the goals in the course. However, whereas students' motivation to explore the meaning of the ambiguity in the course emerges to a large degree from their role as active participants in this ambiguous context, the ambiguity in the school as a work setting is somewhat removed from students' experiences in the course. Therefore, in order to trigger the exploration of the meaning of working in school, we asked the students to take part in a cooperative learning activity. In the task, the students were asked to imagine and describe an ideal school. Imagining the ideal—and contrasting it with the actual—is an important anchor for processes of exploration and of self-development (e.g., Higgins, 1987; Markus & Nurius, 1986). The cooperative interaction among students of different background as they set to construct consensual characteristics of the ideal school contributes to the confrontation of not only perceptions of schools but of the self. The follow-up activity, which asked the groups of students to suggest ways of practi-

cally applying one dimension of the ideal school, targets the discrepancy between the actual reality of schools and the role of practitioners in this reality. The interaction of students from different backgrounds, who are familiar with different school systems, and with varying experience in interventions in school, provides a potential for zones of proximal development that concern these roles. Such zones were very apparent among the students with little experience in schools. One such student readily said that the group interaction with the more experienced students emphasized to her the discrepancy between the ways she has been thinking about schools and about counseling and the way things in the education system actually are. However, development in thinking about these issues occurred not only among the less experienced students. Thus, for example, one of the experienced counselors noted that the discussion highlighted for her the discrepancy between the way she thinks the school counselor should conduct her job and the actual things she is doing in her school. Specifically, she said that in her day-to-day activities she is "sucked-in by the system" to work with individual students. This is in contrast to her belief that the school counselor should work much more intensively with the teachers—so that these would provide better education and support to their students. The term "sucked-in by the system" that this student introduced later became a commonly used reference in the course to the actual demands of the system that the school counselor has to contend with but also to overcome.

The small group interaction around the discrepancy between the ideal and the actual in school gave rise to several important issues that demonstrate the constructive contribution of cooperation among students from different background. One issue concerned the dilemma between putting the student at the center and providing choice to students and the societal demands from schools. Other issues dealt with the demands and expectations of various decision-makers in the school, the sense of frustration that the counselor experiences when attempts for change are blocked by others in the school, and coping with the ambiguity that is inherent when attempting to define one's goals in a new school. The group discussion about these issues contributed to what seemed to be leaps in students' understanding of the role of the school counselor. One student in particular, who held the idea that the counselor has to make prior decisions about what needs to be done in the school, expressed her understanding from the process in the following words: "I am learning that the counselor cannot decide...However, being familiar with others' desires and needs and their clash, the counselor can then mediate, collaborate, create openness, attempt to persuade..." Another student commented: "you need to find who your partners are, what are their positions and opinions, what limits I can push.... One of the roles of the counselor is to be a change agent. But I have questions about this role: who is the client? How do you characterize the system? Actually there are no answers, there are more questions, ques-

tions that the counselor needs to ask herself." These understandings also resulted with quite strong emotions. One student expressed fear, confusion, a sense of no control. But other students also pointed to positive emotions: satisfaction and sense of success "in places where the counselor does meaningful things."

Whereas several of the thoughts and emotions expressed by the students suggest a rather mature conception of the counselor's job, the exploration of job and of the self in relation to this job is still far from being settled. This was manifested, for example, in a conversation in which one student suggested that the counselor does not have the privilege of contemplation and hesitation—the counselor ha to be a leader. Another student responded that the counselor does not lead alone and does not need to decide fast. In her opinion, the expectation from the counselor is to make a professional decision that is based on a thorough consideration. A third student suggested that sometimes, the counselor has to be passive, have the system quiet down before doing anything. Along the year, we saw regression as well as development in the ideas expressed by various students about the job. These were manifesting in several other central aspects or core dilemmas that characterize the counselor's job.

Coping with Reality in Schools: Reactive versus Proactive

In the course's atmosphere of questioning that oscillates between the here and now and the there and then, the "who am I?" and the observation or projection of the self-as-a-school-counselor, the question of the meaning of the unique role of the counselor in the school takes, of course, central stage. Students moved from the general question of how could I, as a counselor, serve the school system best, to the actual experience (real or imagined) of being in this unique role, with the prevalent anxiety that is evoked by the discussion. One focal dilemma that was intensely explored is whether a school counselor ought to be reactive or proactive. Should I as a counselor take a passive stand, tune myself to the principal's expectation and respond accordingly or could I take an active stand, initiate and plan ahead? Is the role of the counselor centered on meeting the needs and demands of others (e.g. students, teachers, principal) and hence is essentially a reactive one, or should the effective counselor exercise autonomy and initiative?

These kinds of question are significant for the students' formation of professional identity and are of importance as an expression of socio-cultural expectations. Once again, the diversity of experience and socio-cultural expectations is instrumental in the creation of a zone of proximal development and the scaffolding that is provided for processing these issues. A statement by an experienced counselor (who was cited earlier)

saying that she has been driven to question what she actually does at school with the sudden awareness that she is "sucked-in by the system" to do what she realizes is not the most effective course of action, led others to this line of exploration and "legitimized" it. In what could be regarded as a first stage of an exploratory process, students voiced the dilemma of being "the school's firefighter" who is "expected to put out fire all the time" instead of having some control over events and an effect on the school's agenda. The earlier is experienced as being pushed around, as having to respond to sporadic demands that come from various directions and often with cross purposes. For some, it touches the wish to please and be "the good girl/boy" of the system. To break away from a totally responsive role is an anxiety-provoking task.

Indeed, the next stage of this line of exploration was marked by a discussion of the role of the counselor as a compromiser and arbitrator, or as a person who is engaged in conflict-resolution in the service of the principal. In the third stage, this kind of approach was questioned and marked as an ineffective or a defensive one. When a mere reactive role became unacceptable, the next image was one of a counselor as an agent of change in the school system. A move towards a more autonomous role was clearly accompanied by expressions of fear and anxiety as a result of the loose role definition, lack of structure and control. At the same time, it evoked "a message of leadership and responsibility." In what could be regarded as a fourth developmental stage of this line of exploration, the focus was on how the counselor develops a proactive approach and claims at least a certain amount of autonomy by carrying out need assessment as a basis for goal setting and determination of a priority list for her\his action.

Hence, a fifth stage is marked by a discussion of action research as a means to bind together a proactive approach with professional know-how and to adapt the counselor's action to needs diagnosed in the school system, in accordance with possibilities and barriers (with the counselor's capability and constraints included among the considerations).

While this sequence of stages reflects the general movement through various zones of proximal development, some individuals showed a more cyclical developmental patterning with periods of certain hesitation and regression as a result of anxiety and socio-cultural differences. For example, the meaning of autonomy and initiative may differ for those with more collective-self construction (as opposed to a more individualistic-self construction). Similarly, the meaning of authority (e.g. the role of the principal) and the hierarchical view of relationships in the system clearly affected the meaning assigned to reactive versus proactive emphasis. How much initiative am I allowed to exercise as a person who belongs to a certain family and tribe in the context of a Bedouin school with a population of students or teachers from higher-status tribes? How do I resolve a conflict between unrealistic expectations of the principal, my tendency to respect and favor the authority figure, and my need to prove myself professionally?

When the discussion evolved around the third stage, for instance, an Arab female participant emphasized that "sometimes we have to lower our heads... not to be too conspicuous, to keep the system quiet and then do what we wish." However, an Arab male participant who emphasized the leadership role of the counselor objected to any dwelling on fear and dilemma and described a situation in which a fight between two tribes threatens the school. A school counselor should assume, in his view, a decisively protective role and lead the students and the school personnel. These two emphases mark boundaries of a zone of proximal development that are drawn from socio-cultural roots and play in a dialectical discourse of development.

This focal dilemma of reactive versus proactive is only one example of the kind of exploration that students delved into following their struggle to construct a clearer professional identity. Another derivative theme is the one of loneliness versus collaboration.

The Essence of School Counseling: Loneliness versus Collaboration

The actual experience of ambiguity and the one projected on the counselor role at school brought to the fore some sense of helplessness, frustration, and anxiety. This set of emotions was coupled with the realization that the counselor occupies a unique niche in the school system that is often perceived as a position of isolation and grave responsibility. One of the early assignments was to interview various people in school (i.e. principal, administrators, teachers, students, etc.) about their expectations from the counselor. On the face of it, this provided a refuge to flee to and avoid ambiguity. For some, the resolution was in hand. Others' expectations provide a definition and the road signs to follow. However, with further exploration, with an understanding that expectations can contradict and pull in different directions, and with the more mature voice of some of the more experienced students a new zone of proximal development was created with the proper scaffolding to develop a new realization: a school counselor who adopts a pleasing strategy and uses others' expectations as an only guide for action is not likely to be effective in the long run. While the search continued, fear of loneliness surfaced as a major driving force.

Since in most schools there is only one counselor, and because of the counselor's special responsibilities and unique position, the emergence of a sense of loneliness was not a surprise. A counselor who takes an active stand (rather than a reactive or passive one) exercises autonomy and initiative, is prone to experience loneliness. Students felt that when a counselor takes an autonomous stance s/he distances herself from sources of support.

Two activities served the next exploratory step. First, the students took part in a team task and experienced and discussed the team's work. Second, they read in an article about the "participant action research model" (Nuttall & Ivey, 1978) as one of the models of action research. The experience of collaboration in a team along with the discussion of the participant action research model contributed to a change of perspective. Instead of dwelling on the misery of loneliness a discourse of collaboration had been introduced. One of the students who functions already as a school counselor announced: "loneliness does not exist in my lexicon. I never work alone; always with teams." She further elaborated that the uniqueness of the counselor's role should not be mistaken for loneliness. A search for an inoculation against loneliness drove students to explore the advantages of collaborative work within an action research framework. "To decide together with others is to share some of the responsibility;" "You get new perspectives by working with others in a team;" "it creates involvement and leads to an internalization in others;" "the partners are more likely to adopt the same goals and there is less likelihood of resistance;" "people who collaborate serve as mirrors for each other and the collaborative process enriches all participants"—these are some examples of advantages that were discussed along with considerations of disadvantages (e.g. "it may lead to controversy in the group"). The question how to choose collaborators, who should be a candidate, was addressed and collaboration became (at least on a declarative level still) part of the essential discourse of the counselor's role.

Collaboration may have a different meaning in different cultural contexts and hence may carry a variety of implications for the individual counselor. In general, collaboration is perceived as an antidote to loneliness. However, the involvement of others in action through a collaborative—participant action research model touched again questions of leadership and authority, collective, and individual effort, professionalism and status. Answers to these questions are culturally embedded. An additional dividing line that added to the confusion around the meaning of collaboration at this stage is the lack of experience and hence low self-efficacy of most of the students and the experience and higher sense of competence of a few others.

One of the inexperienced students, for instance, endorsed the collaborative model of action research as the most effective and was able to explain in details why, but made a clear indication of her conflict by adding: "The counselor has to sit alone first...review the various problems and select what to share with other people" in the school system. Students who are less confident professionally tended to feel that they have to establish themselves professionally first before they could lead others with any professional authority. Some were afraid to lose their professional status if others are significantly involved in their work (e.g. in their diagnostic activities in the system, in the planning and implementation of interventions). One

suggested a way to resolve the conflict by "involving others in a covert manner;" a fear of too much interference by the principal, as distinguished from involvement, was voiced by one, and another expressed the fear that "collaborators will develop a view of themselves as experts," indicating that the counselor's professional status might be in danger. These kinds of fear (like similar ones that had been articulated in the discussion) seem to reflect questions about hierarchy and status in the school, about the perception of the counselor's status in the Bedouin educational system and uncertainty about the recognition of the unique professional expertise that the counselor brings to the system.

Students who felt more competent as school counselors were much less threatened by sharing with others and tended to see collaboration as an effective means for a new counselor to pave one's professional way into the school system. One of them stressed: "...(t)hrough the collaborative model of action research the new counselor can find out about the potential partners...their assumptions, and can identify goals.... Implementing this model can assist the counselor in working with others towards focused problems as well as in the execution of a comprehensive need assessment for the school as a whole". She further suggested that carrying out a participant action research might not prevent or eradicate the counselor's sense of loneliness completely and some instances when resistance, for example, plays out an experience of loneliness is inevitable.

Hence, the counselor's experience of loneliness and the significance of collaboration reached a much more complex level of conception. This marks a new zone of proximal development. By the end of the second semester not all the students are at this level, but they seem to be moving towards it.

COUNSELING AND THE BEDOUIN CULTURE: A DYNAMIC INTERPLAY BETWEEN A TRADITIONAL MIDDLE-EASTERN SOCIETY AND A WESTERN PROFESSION

One of the most challenging encounters of differences in the course has been that of the profession of counseling with the Bedouin culture. A simplistic characterization could describe this encounter as a clash between counseling as emerging from an "individualistic" set of cultural processes, including an emphasis on the psychological existence of the individual, the salience of intra-psychological processes, and the goals of self-actualization; and the Bedouin culture as a "collectivist" culture (cf. Triandis, 1989), a culture that while going through a major cultural transition still maintains strong traditional Middle-Eastern characteristics including an emphasis on interdependence (cf. Markus & Kitayama, 1991), the deference to the group, and the conformity to the patriarchic authority. The encounter

between school counseling and the Bedouin culture in the course was much more complex. Generally, it had to do with the attempt of the Arab and Bedouin students to appropriate the principles of school counseling into the unique constellation of norms and values of the traditional Bedouin society—norms and values that were part of their own identity as well as a defining aspect of the schools in which they worked. Such an attempt involved exploration of self as well as exploration of setting: what the students in the course who are members of the Bedouin culture constructed counseling to be, how they related to this construction of the profession, and how they thought that such a profession could be applied in the Bedouin school system. Importantly, this exploration and appropriation took place through an interaction with Jewish students and instructors. Indeed, the interaction between Bedouin, Arab, and Jewish students and instructors, in the setting of a course that focuses on counseling, in an Israeli university, provided a context that allowed Bedouin students to explore and sometimes challenge norms and values of their own culture as well as the norms and values of the Western academia and of counseling in relation to their culture. The former case was apparent, for example, in a discussion over the term "ladies first" that was brought up by a Bedouin male student. This phrase became a trigger for an interrogation—like exchange within which this Bedouin man was confronted with challenges to the traditional norms of patriarchy and to the treatment of women in the Bedouin culture. The challenges were posed by Jewish as well as by the Arab and Bedouin students. At the end of the exchange, while the Bedouin student still argued that the roles of men and women in the Bedouin culture are "simply how things should be," he admitted that at the university the situation is different—there he is not "trying to be first." This event depicts a zone of proximal development in which the setting provided a scaffold for the Bedouin women to express thoughts that they may not have been able to do on their own. A parallel zone of proximal development could be said to have occurred for the Bedouin man, who still held his opinions about women with regard to his home, but who was introduced to the idea that this is a localized perception that is challenged by participants from his own culture, and to the fact that he himself can abandon this perception and practice when in a different context.

The development that took place among the Arab and Bedouin students concerning the appropriation of counseling to the Bedouin society was the result of multiple overlapping zones of proximal development. Some zones dealt specifically with the Bedouin culture, its manifestation in the school, and the meaning of this to school counseling. In these zones, the experienced students who provided the cultural expertise and scaffolds for the novices were Arab and Bedouin peers with counseling experience in the Bedouin school system. Other zones did not focus on the Bedouin culture per se, but rather on the meaning of working as a school counselor in a cultural setting different from one's own with its unique expectations

and norms. Here, experienced Arab and Jewish peers as well as the instructors provided the facilitating role. Together, the combined zones resulted with a unique context for the development of a professional identity and of practices—within each of the Arab and Bedouin students, but also within the Jewish students, and in the group as a whole. This was clear, for example, in a discussion that developed after students were asked to choose an article from a counseling-related journal and summarize it orally for the group. While some of the Arab students chose articles that dealt with Arab issues and used Arab participants, other students chose articles from American journals that concerned general school psychological processes and used American participants. This distinction instigated a discussion about the translation of research results from one culture to another. Several Arab students noted the caution that needs to be taken when reading and attempting to apply to the Bedouin schools research findings from studies conducted in the US. One Bedouin student noted that reading such articles actually sharpened for her the differences between other cultures and her own. Another Arab student emphasized the importance of critical reading, noting the cultural perspective from which the article was written and the potential of irrelevance of the findings to other cultures. This point was taken further in the next course meeting when one Arab student who is working as a counselor suggested caution in generalizing from any research to the population in one's specific school. This student reached the understanding that each and every school is unique, and findings of research that was conducted elsewhere should be taken with a grain of salt.

The realization that each school provides a unique setting that has to be studied by the school counselor is the basis for one of the important pillars of the professional identity that the course is aiming for. Furthermore, this investigation of the school setting is an integral element in the wider approach that adopts action research as the guide for the school counselor's job. What became clear to students in the course is that action research that focuses on learning the processes in the specific school, and involves continuous dynamic cycles of collaborative intervention and evaluation, provides the counselor a very effective mode of operation. What students also came to understand is that this process can have a different meaning in each school, and in different cultures. This emerged very clearly in the response of one Arab student to a question about the relations between school evaluation and action research. This student told a story that concerned a conflict between a school counselor in one Bedouin school and parents from a large Bedouin family with many children in the school. The conflict revolved around the accusations of the parents that the counselor is encouraging the children to have sex by giving lessons in sex education. The family withheld a large group of girls from going to school. The issue was resolved only when the traditional Bedouin court got involved, ordered the discharge of the counselor and the return of the girls to school. The student used this story to point to the possible benefits

of an evaluation that is conducted as part of collaborative action research, which could potentially discover cultural "mines" (sic) such as sex education and how to prevent their explosion, as well as identify and use societal resources, such as the traditional Bedouin court, in order to provide authority and encourage the participation and involvement of staff, parents and students.

Not all the uneasy encounters in the course between the role of the school counselor and processes that are based in the Bedouin culture were able to be resolved. For example, in one of the last meetings of the year, a Bedouin student raised a question about overcoming resistance in conducting an evaluation of the school. At the time, this student was working in the school as a teacher and chose to do the evaluation of the school as part of her assignments for the course. As mentioned above, the issue of attending to expectations and norms that may be in conflict with what the counselor is trying to promote has been an important topic in the course. However, this student phrased her question in a way that suggested personal resistance to her doing the evaluation. It was another Arab student, one who has been working as a counselor in the Bedouin school system for several years, who pointed to the fact that the male school principal and the female student belong to families that are in historical conflict, and that what is involved in the resistance is family politics. The other Arab students agreed that this is a very challenging situation and at the time were not able to provide a good advice for the student on how to go about resolving this difficulty. And so, the processes of constructing the meaning of school counseling in the Bedouin schools continued with some issues open and vague calling for additional exploration.

The last event provides an example of the multiple ways by which processes occur in the zones of proximal development. As often happens, but seldom mentioned, the participation of the novices also contributes to the development of the more experienced. It was the question by an inexperienced student that highlighted to the experienced counselors that there is much to be explored in the difficult task of appropriating the Western notion of school counseling to the actual world of the traditional Bedouin school.

CONCLUSION

When this course begun, the threat of the conflict outside the university boundaries was very real and it was not completely ignored in the class. However, the group of Jews and Arabs has cooperated remarkably well together and kept to the task. In a period in which interaction between Jews and Arabs in the country was extremely tense, participants in the course managed to create an environment in which differences were not

wiped out in any way; rather they were instrumental in the development of a learning process and turned into an asset that contributed to the professional and personal growth of the participants.

The main goals of the course Evaluation Tools for the Counselor are to instigate a process of exploration of the meaning of being a counselor. These goals are achieved through the creation of "constructive ambiguity"—a characteristic of the learning environment that facilitates the motivation to question previously held conceptions, construct and examine new understandings, and explore the meanings of these to the self-as-a-school-counselor. The processes of questioning, construction, and exploration of the identity of the school counselor take place within multiple zones of proximal development that are continuously created among students and instructors, students, and their peers, students and their learning environment. The diversity of students' socio-cultural backgrounds and other characteristics provides a crucial component in the facilitation of these zones and the course's approach utilizes this diversity in service of its developmental goals.

At the course's point of departure, most students viewed school counseling in terms of practice of skills. According to this oversimplified view the practice of skills is aimed at the solution of problems with individual students in response to the demands of the school system. The processes in the course encouraged students to initiate an exploratory process, aiming at developing a professional identity and approach for practice that are based on action research. This more effective approach to the counselor's work at school relies on a wider and more complex view of the school system. Moreover, it guides the adoption of an action orientation that can counteract many of the pitfalls of counseling such as reactivity, passivity, and loneliness. A corner stone of this framework is the, by now, legendary statement of Kurt Lewin's: "No research without action, no action without research" (see Marrow, 1969, p. 193). This statement is translated to a systematic and dynamic framework of action research that enables the counselor to act reflexively, skillfully, professionally, and effectively.

The dialectical process of action and reflection, practice and research had been at the core of the students' exploratory struggle. This is echoed in the description of previous themes. The notion of action research as a basis for the professional identity of the counselor and as an approach for the practice of school counseling emerged in the various zones of proximal development that concerned such issues as the gap between the ideal and the actual, the need to be proactive versus reactive, and the need to cope with the sense of loneliness in the role. Tasks that asked students to consider the relationships between theory, research and practice and the counselor as a customer of research (Harmon, 1978) provided scaffolds for these developmental processes. Action research was endorsed as a solution for the counselor's need for a systematic framework that includes a diagnostic (or need assessment) factor and an action factor; action is

implemented as a result of diagnosis, and is continuously being evaluated and reflected upon; hence, evaluation and reflection feed into further action. Indeed, the utility of research and theory in practice made a lot of professional sense; however, the model of action research goes further in its application to multi-cultural school systems. Action research can be carried out in a variety of ways and can follow various models. Most important, however, is that it provides a guide that can be applied flexibly and can be adapted to the unique needs of the counselor and the school context in a given culture. In the development of this understanding, the socio-cultural diversity of students' backgrounds proved an essential asset. Students' questions about the meaning and the direct applicability of research findings across cultures, which were a result of the cultural make up of the group, increased students' sensitivity to the limitation of research and theory on the one hand and to the potential of action research in addressing these limitations on the other.

The approach that guides the learning processes in the core course of the school counseling training program at Ben Gurion University of the Negev exemplifies the contributions of a socio-culturally diverse body of students to the developmental processes of school practitioners. This approach models to a large degree the processes that these practitioners may later apply in their practice in the heterogeneous school system. It is in the adoption of a method that utilizes the differences between the participants in the course for enhancing and enriching the zones of proximal development that are construed that the benefits of diversity most obviously emerge.

NOTE

1. A sixth theme that was clearly obvious in the notes was events that indicated the intergroup relations in the course and their development. Whereas this is a very interesting process, it provides a background rather than a focus in the processes of development of professional identity and is therefore beyond the scope of this chapter.

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CHAPTER 8

SHAPING A GLAD TOMORROW
Mandatory Indigenous Studies Teacher Education Courses as an International Educational Priority!

Rhonda G. Craven

To our fathers' fathers
The pain, the sorrow;
To our children's children
The glad tomorrow.
—*Noonuccal, 1990, p. 41*

INTRODUCTION

These are some of the words that the late Oodgeroo Noonuccal– one of Australia's leading Aboriginal poets and Aboriginal educators (for an over-

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view see Cochrane, 1994; Craven, 1994; Shoemaker (Ed.), 1994)—used to educate and inspire a nation to commit their hearts, minds, and hands to establishing a real reconciliation between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal Australians. Oodgeroo advocated throughout her life that education was the key to ensuring a glad tomorrow could dawn for her people. Her writings were deliberately designed to wake a nation to not only understand the dire injustice and disadvantage her people were experiencing but to inspire fair-minded non-Aboriginal Australians to make a difference to this her cause. Up until her death she was working on what might eventually be considered one of her most lasting legacies to the nation—a dream that she had, a dream to ensure that all teachers were taught to understand and teach Aboriginal Studies effectively in schools (see Craven, 1994). She believed that requiring all Australian preservice teachers to undertake a mandatory Aboriginal Studies teacher education course could establish a generational shift whereby Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal Australians could forge a more socially just Australia based on mutual respect and understanding.

To address such a goal has proved to be a monumental challenge partly because, historically Australian teacher educators—like the rest of the Australian population—have been denied their right to be educated about the true history of Australia (for an overview see Cavanagh, 1999; Craven, 1999a). As such non-Indigenous teacher educators have been unaware of the rationale for teaching Aboriginal Studies in teacher education courses which has served to ensure that generations of Australians have continued to not be taught about our shared history; the consequences thereof on Aboriginal Australians today; nor empowered with the motivation, knowledge, and skills to address critical social justice issues of our time (e.g. racism, Aboriginal disadvantage). In 1996, the 'Teaching the Teachers: Indigenous Australian Studies Project of National Significance' was commissioned by the Commonwealth Government. This project involved developing a model mandatory Aboriginal Studies primary teacher education subject and support resources to serve as an impetus for Australian teacher education institutions to develop mandatory Aboriginal Studies subjects that suited their needs. This project has assisted Australian teacher education institutions to rise to these challenges and the current report card on their progress shows much promise. The process and the outcomes of reconceptualising Australian teacher education courses to include Aboriginal Studies content also serves as a useful model for other nations who aspire to utilize appropriate teacher education to assist in forging an enduring reconciliation between their Indigenous and non-Indigenous people. Whilst a number of countries' teacher education curricula seem to embrace Multicultural Studies (e.g. Australia, USA), Indigenous Studies has not been afforded the same status. Primarily teacher education courses have omitted Indigenous Studies from the curriculum altogether or superficially addressed the subject as a small compo-

nent of existing core subjects such as Multicultural Studies. The latter approach often fails to acknowledge the validity and special place of Indigenous people and their history in nation states and as such often fails to prepare preservice teachers with the requisite knowledge, skills, and attitudes to understand and teach Indigenous Studies and Indigenous students effectively in schools.

The purpose of this chapter is to contribute to addressing some of these issues by providing an overview of recent efforts in Australia to incorporate Aboriginal Studies in the teacher education curriculum. It is hoped that this chapter may assist Australian teacher education institutions to introduce or strengthen existing core Aboriginal Studies teacher education subjects and provide a model and impetus for other nations to consider the introduction of mandatory Indigenous Studies teacher education subjects as an international priority. First, a rationale for introducing mandatory Aboriginal Studies subjects is presented to convey a justification as to why it is critical to introduce such subjects. Second, an overview is provided of a model teacher education subject and support resources developed in Australia to communicate key features of successful mandatory subjects. Third, an overview of the results of a recent empirical investigation are presented to demonstrate the benefits of introducing mandatory subjects and elucidate strategic directions for further strengthening existing subjects. Finally, the implications of the chapter for Australian teacher education courses and teacher education internationally are discussed.

WHY INTRODUCE MANDATORY ABORIGINAL STUDIES TEACHER EDUCATION COURSES

"It would be nice to teach Aboriginal Studies along with more math, more English, more science etc. but the teacher education curriculum is too crowded to do this" (Written submission to the 'Teaching the Teachers: Indigenous Australian Studies Project of National Significance' Steering Committee, 1996). These words by a senior teacher educator demonstrate the cavalier attitude that has historically characterized teacher educators' attitudes to teaching teachers how to teach Aboriginal Studies. In Australia such attitudes have been based on widespread ignorance of the rationale for teaching Aboriginal Studies.

To Create a Socially Just Society

Craven (1999c; also see Craven 1999f) outlined a rationale for teaching preservice and inservice teachers how to understand and teach Aboriginal

Studies. She emphasized that despite the fact that teachers were expected to teach Aboriginal Studies, teacher education institutions were not preparing teachers with the knowledge and skills to do so. Craven (1999c, pp. 19-20) argued that teaching teachers to teach Aboriginal Studies was fundamental to: Empowering the next generation to address critical social justice issues of our time; addressing Aboriginal people's educational and economic disadvantage; and creating a lasting reconciliation between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal Australians.

To Tell the Truth

Educators and others have long espoused the need for Australia's true history to become more actively shared and more widely known by Australians (for an overview see Craven, 1999a; Cavanagh, 1999; Wilson-Miller, 1999). "Rejecting and belittling Aboriginal culture and antiquity has deprived Australians of a rich source of meaning in defining what it is to be an Australian spiritually and culturally. Most Australians are indeed poorer for being aliens to an indigenous culture uniquely shaped by this continent and for being ignorant of the greater part of Australia's... history" (Tickner, 1991). Students of every nation should have the fundamental right to expect their country's education systems to teach them the truth about their own country's rich cultural heritage and how contemporary society has been shaped by this history—only by doing this can we say that we are producing informed citizens capable of shaping preferred futures for a nation. As Paul Behrendt (1996) has pointed out: "Australia will never mature as a nation unless we know what our roots are. Our roots lie firmly in Aboriginal culture, Australia didn't start in 1770 and unless we learn about Australia as a whole we have no foundation to build a nation on. Examining the totality of Australia's shared history ensures not only the struggles of the pioneer are acknowledged but that the triumphant survival of Aboriginal people is also appreciated and celebrated."

Craven (1999c, pp. 21-22) argued that teachers needed to be taught Aboriginal Studies because: "Generations of teachers have not experienced their right to learn the truth about Australia's history.... This great Australian silence cannot continue to mask the truth as the soul of a nation's Social Studies curriculum cannot be forged on lies." Aboriginal historian James Wilson-Miller at the annual lecture of the History Council of New South Wales eloquently pointed out that teaching the truth is not solely about history for history's sake but about empowering Australians to confront the legacies of that history.

> Australia's past Indigenous history can be avoided no longer. Both Indigenous and Non-Indigenous people today have inherited that history. However,

> it is not up to the present generation of Australians to feel guilty about that history, but more importantly, develop an understanding of, and work to positively address, the many legacies still evident today, which reflect the past treatments of Australia's Indigenous peoples. If we, the present generations of Australians can do this, then we will make this country a great country, not because we avoided the past, but because we confronted it and overcame it (Wilson-Miller, 1997).

If we are to achieve this vision of a great country then clearly Australian educators need to tell the truth about our past so that Australians can learn to share our history as a basis for sharing our future with equality and social justice firmly in place for all Australians.

Aboriginal Studies is Australian Studies

In a nation that considers the teaching of Australian Studies as of paramount importance to establishing national pride and identity, the exclusion of Aboriginal Studies from this agenda has resulted in presenting a biased view of Australian Studies and has served to deny the validity of Aboriginal people's experiences of Australia's history and current concerns. As discussed previously, every Australian child has the right to learn the true history of their country and in so doing be challenged to contribute positively to addressing contemporary social issues. Fundamental to such goals is ensuring teachers understand that Aboriginal Studies is a critical component of Australian Studies.

To Facilitate the National Goals of Schooling

In 1990, the 'National Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Education Policy' came into effect. All Australian State and Territory governments endorsed this policy. The policy set out 21 long-term goals for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander education. Included in these goals are:

20. To enable Aboriginal students at all levels of education to have an appreciation of their history, culture and identity.
21. To provide all Australian students with an understanding and respect for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander traditional and contemporary cultures. (Commonwealth of Australia 1994, p. 14.)

In 1999, the Ministerial Council on Education, Employment, Training and Youth Affairs (MCEETYA) took into account this policy and developed

'The Adelaide declaration on national goals for schooling in the twenty-first century'. These goals include the need for schools to ensure that:

Schooling should be socially just, so that:

> 3.3 Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander students have equitable access to, and opportunities in, schooling so that their learning outcomes improve and, over time, match those of other students.
>
> 3.4 All students understand and acknowledge the value of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander cultures to Australian society and possess the knowledge, skills and understanding to contribute to, and benefit from, reconciliation between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians (MCEETYA, 1999).

Such goals will be impossible to achieve without appropriate teacher education.

To Address Decades of Reports Calling for Reform

The validity of the rationale for introducing mandatory Aboriginal Studies teacher education subjects is further evidenced by reports spanning three decades (see Craven, 1999a; 1999b for an overview) from a wide range of education stakeholders that have emphasized the need to reform the teacher education curriculum to adequately prepare student teachers to teach Aboriginal Studies and Aboriginal children effectively. The majority of these reports have recommended that there is a dire need to introduce mandatory Aboriginal Studies subjects into the teacher education curriculum (e.g. Aboriginal Consultative Group, 1975; House of Representatives Select Committee on Aboriginal Affairs, 1985; National Aboriginal Education Committee, 1986; Johnstone 1991; the Schools Council of the National Board of Employment, Education and Training; 1992; Australian College of Education, 1999; Australian Council of Deans of Education, 1998; 2001).

This issue continues to maintain currency. As recently as August 2002 the Australian Education Union (AEU) called upon governments to take urgent and immediate action to ensure "that pre-service teachers have access to Indigenous studies as a core component of their undergraduate degree program" (Moyle, 2002) and has launched a national campaign to further their position.

Furthermore in November 1999, a national issues forum on Indigenous Education was held in Alice Springs, coordinated by the Australian College of Education and funded by the Commonwealth Department of Education, Science, and Technology (DEST). The forum involved over 100 stake-

holders from across the country with a demonstrated commitment to improving outcomes for Indigenous youth. A major outcome of this forum was to develop an initial strategic action framework. Of the 26 strategies developed, 8 of these (31%), specifically referred to action plans for strengthening teacher education. For example, strategy 17 emphasized that "Systems will require a mandatory component of Aboriginal studies as a prerequisite for employment of all teachers" and strategy 22 put forth a commitment to ensuring "that preservice education programs become the platform for better trained and prepared teachers" (Australian College of Education, 1999).

The Australian Council of Deans of Education (ACDE) has also attempted to advance this process. In 1998, the ACDE developed 'National Standards and Guidelines for Initial Teacher Education.' Significantly, their very first two guidelines to deal with curriculum content were that:

> 1.4.1 Graduates should have developed the knowledge, understandings, capabilities and dispositions to effectively teach Indigenous students, and to teach all students about Indigenous issues.
>
> 1.4.2 Graduates should be able to incorporate Indigenous perspectives in the curriculum of the content areas they teach; and they should be able to participate in the development and implementation of school-based Indigenous studies programs and related school policies and practices, and to respond effectively to issues related to Indigenous Australians which arise in the course of their professional work (Australian Council of Deans of Education, 1998, p. 10).

More recently, the Australian Council of Deans of Education, reiterated its concern about the need for core Aboriginal Studies teacher education courses in a 2001 submission to the Senate Employment, Workplace Relations, Small Business and Education References Committee's inquiry into the capacity of public universities to meet Australia's higher education needs. In response to what it described as "inadequate support for practicum and other elements of initial teacher education" (p. 6), the submission repeated a set of recommendations by the Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission's National Inquiry into Rural and Remote Education. One of those recommendations was addressed directly at the place of Indigenous studies in teacher education: "Recommendation 5.9d: All teacher training institutions should require undergraduates to study a module on cross-cultural teaching with a particular emphasis on teaching Indigenous students and teaching in Indigenous communities. More advanced Indigenous education subjects should also be available as electives". (p. 7). Here again, the Australian Council of Deans of Education chose the path of mandated units in Indigenous issues in preservice teacher education. These recent calls taken together with over three decades of reports demonstrate the enduring nature of this issue and as

such attest to the critical importance of introducing mandatory Aboriginal Studies courses into Australian teacher education courses.

THE 'TEACHING THE TEACHERS' PROJECT OF NATIONAL SIGNIFICANCE

Background Context

To begin to address the widespread omission of Aboriginal Studies from Australian teacher education courses a national project was undertaken to develop Aboriginal Studies teacher education resources. This project—the 'Teaching the Teachers: Indigenous Australian Studies' (Craven (Ed.), 1996a; 1996b; 1999d; Craven, 1996c; 1996d; 1996e) widely known as 'Teaching the Teachers' was funded as a Project of National Significance by the Commonwealth Department of Employment, Education and Training (DEET) over the years 1992-1995. This project was instigated and inspired by the late Oodgeroo of the Tribe Noonuccal (Kath Walker). It was Oodgeroo's last wish that this project succeed in ensuring all Australian student teachers were taught to understand and teach Aboriginal Studies effectively.

The purpose of this project was to develop: Guidelines to assist teacher education institutions to develop a core Aboriginal Studies subject; a model core Aboriginal Studies teacher education subject, a teacher-oriented text; and sample support resources for preservice primary teacher education courses (see Craven, 2000 for an overview). A Steering Committee was established to oversee all aspects of the project, which comprised representatives from key education stakeholders (e.g. education authorities, universities, Aboriginal communities, parents) and included Australian State/Territory representatives from the National Federation of Aboriginal Education Consultative Groups. The author served as the national project coordinator and was assisted in this role by Paul Behrendt (a leading Aboriginal academic) and Nigel Parbury (a respected historian and Aboriginal Affairs advocate) as Assistant Project Coordinators. An Elders Committee comprised of respected Aboriginal Elders with expertise in education advised the Steering Committee on all aspects of the project. Extensive national consultation was undertaken with Aboriginal communities (via the Federation of National Consultative Groups), and key education stakeholders—universities, education authorities, professional associations, parent associations—by written invitation to pursue drafts of materials. The eclectic combination of respected Aboriginal Elders, experienced Indigenous and non-Indigenous educators, leading Aboriginal Education organizations, and education stakeholders ensured that existing

expertise from a range of sources could be capitalised upon to address the formidable aims of the project.

The resulting draft model core subject and draft resources were trialed by five Australian universities (University of New South Wales, University of Western Sydney, Monash University, La Trobe University, and Charles Sturt University). Importantly, student teachers in all these universities developed a commitment to teaching Aboriginal Studies appropriately (see Table 1 for example student evaluations). All project resources are endorsed by the National Federation of Aboriginal Education Consultative Groups (NFAECGs). Hence, the 'Teaching the Teachers' resources have been acknowledged as important national resources that can provide the impetus for a new dawn in teacher education to emerge (see Atkinson in Craven (Ed.), 1999d, p. ii).

THE PLANKS OF THE 'TEACHING THE TEACHERS' RESOURCES

Framework Statement

Theoretical model

The first resource developed was a framework statement (Craven, 1996c) that provides guidelines to assist universities to get started designing core Aboriginal Studies subjects for teacher education courses in consultation with their University Aboriginal Education Centers and Aboriginal community members. The Framework Statement features a theoretical model of the structure of a core Aboriginal Studies subject based on national consultations that served as the basis for the development of project resources.

Figure 1 depicts this model as two inter-connecting circles to demonstrate the interaction of the *content knowledge understandings* of the left hand circles with the *awareness and skills* of the right hand circles. The broad arrow through the center of both sets of circles is to show that all components of the model need to be examined in the context of present, past and futures perspectives. The model is based on the premises that in order to appreciate Indigenous cultures and issues today, student teachers need to understand the impact of history on Indigenous Australian societies; and that such content knowledge understandings are prerequisite to being able to teach Indigenous Australian Studies effectively. Each content topic is devised to be presented in terms of present, past and futures perspectives. The model does not proceed in chronological order, but rather clearly focuses on the present by beginning each topic with a present perspective to focus student teachers' attention on a conceptual base that they can relate to—that is, Indigenous societies today. Each content topic then deals with explaining how the present has been shaped by the past, so that

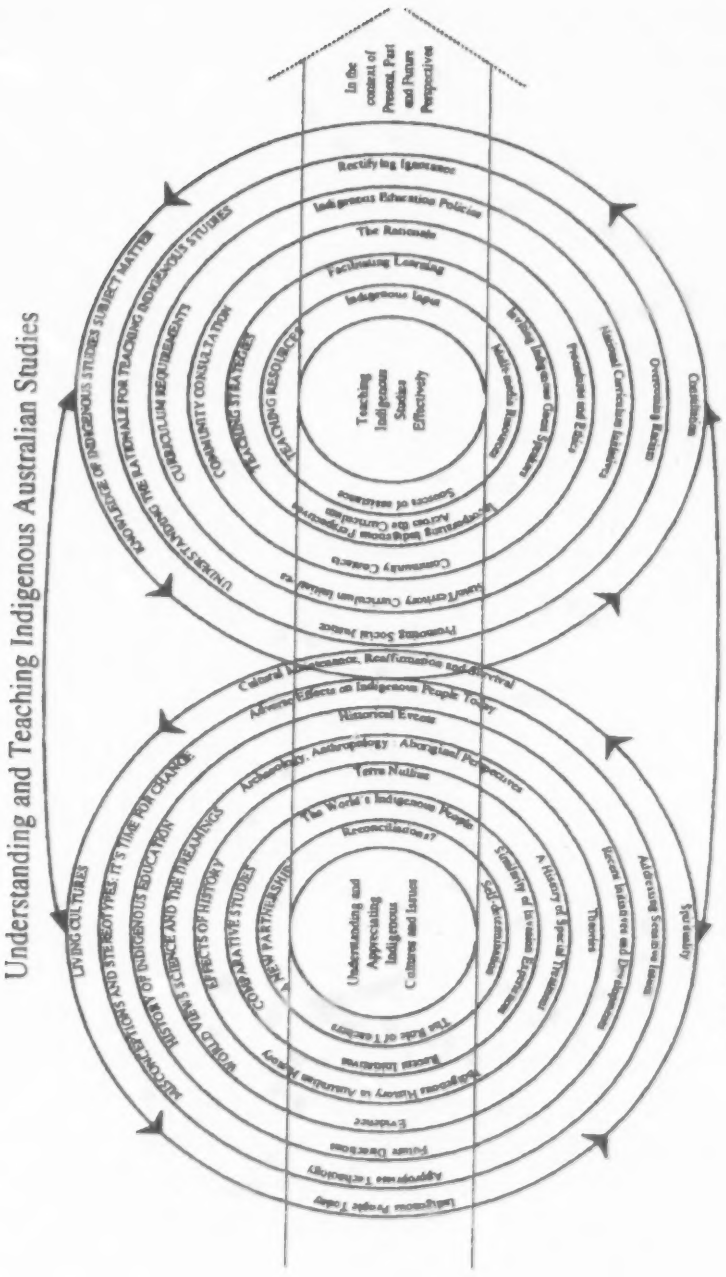

FIGURE 1
Theoretical Model for an Indigenous Australian Studies Subject for Student Primary Teachers

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student teachers can understand where Indigenous societies today have come from. Understanding the forces that have shaped and impacted on Indigenous societies and issues today is the basis for examining future perspectives in the content of each topic. The outermost circle on the left is first because it is fundamental for student teachers to have knowledge of Indigenous Studies subject matter in order to understand and appreciate Indigenous cultures and issues. Knowledge of Indigenous Studies subject matter is pre-requisite to all aspects of the model in that teachers need to be familiar with the subject matter that they will teach prior to being expected to devise appropriate teaching strategies. Teachers cannot be expected to teach Indigenous Australian Studies without knowledge of Indigenous Studies subject matter. At the same time, trialing has found that to gain maximum benefit from applying content knowledge to developing teaching activities, pre-service student teachers need early input on finding, evaluating, using, and developing resources and teaching strategies.

The advocated subject content is ordered from the outermost circle towards the inner circle aim of understanding and appreciating Indigenous cultures and issues. Whilst the content could be ordered in many ways to suit specific regional needs, it is ordered in this way to reflect the need for student teachers to:

1. Understand the rationale for developing Indigenous Australian Studies activities;
2. Focus on Indigenous Australian cultures, issues, and achievements today—at the beginning of the subject;
3. Critically analyse any stereotypic views or misconceptions they may hold about Indigenous Australian societies at the beginning of the subject;
4. Comprehend the history of Indigenous education and the consequences of this history on Indigenous Australians in order to recognise the need to teach Indigenous Australian Studies;
5. Examine historic events and critically analyse how these events have impacted on Indigenous Australian societies;
6. Recognise that many other Indigenous cultures of the world have experienced similar histories in order to understand the commonalities of Indigenous peoples' experiences; and
7. Understand the need for a new partnership in Australian society and the role and responsibility of teachers to facilitate such a partnership for the creation of a more just society for all Australians.

Knowledge of subject matter is one pre-requisite to appreciating Indigenous cultures and issues but is inadequate in itself to equip teachers to teach Indigenous Australian Studies effectively. The other pre-requisite is that student teachers need to be taught how to devise, implement, and

evaluate appropriate teaching strategies in order to empower them to facilitate their future pupils' appreciation and understandings of Indigenous cultures and issues.

The second, right-hand concentric circles show the essential nature of developing student teachers' awareness, understandings and skills in consultation, curriculum and pedagogy to equip them to teach Indigenous Australian Studies appropriately and effectively. This section of the model is based on the premise that knowledge of subject matter precedes the development of appropriate teaching strategies. The fundamental necessity of consulting with local Indigenous communities on the development of school-based curriculum; developing, evaluating, and implementing appropriate curriculum; and utilizing appropriate pedagogy are stressed in the model. The model also emphasizes the need for student teachers to become familiar with available and appropriate teaching resources in all media and to begin to develop skills in devising, implementing, and evaluating their own units of work, in consultation, at the same time as they learn.

The interaction of all elements of the model in both circles is to facilitate understanding and teaching Indigenous Australian Studies effectively. Throughout the model, the interactive design advocates that the teacher education curriculum should develop knowledge and teaching skills in tandem rather than isolate either from the other area. This approach leads to a practical and informed focus on the skills of teaching rather than solely a content approach or solely a skills approach. Content knowledge and awareness and skills need to be recognized as interdependent. Only this recognition will ensure that a core Indigenous Australian Studies subject has practical relevance for student teachers.

Model for Developing Teaching Activities

Another important feature of the Framework Statement is the inclusion of a model to assist teachers develop appropriate strategies for devising Aboriginal Studies units of work and appropriate teaching activities (see Craven, d'Arbon & Wilson-Miller, 1999; Craven & Miller, 1996; for an overview and Figure 2).

> The model is based on the premise that in order to appreciate Indigenous culture and issues today, children need to understand the impact of history upon Indigenous Australian societies. Understanding and respect for living cultures and knowledge and appreciation of Indigenous issues forms the basis for planning and shaping future directions (Craven, 1996c, p. 22).

This model is an important breakthrough for the teaching of Aboriginal Studies as it focuses on conceptualizing units of work.

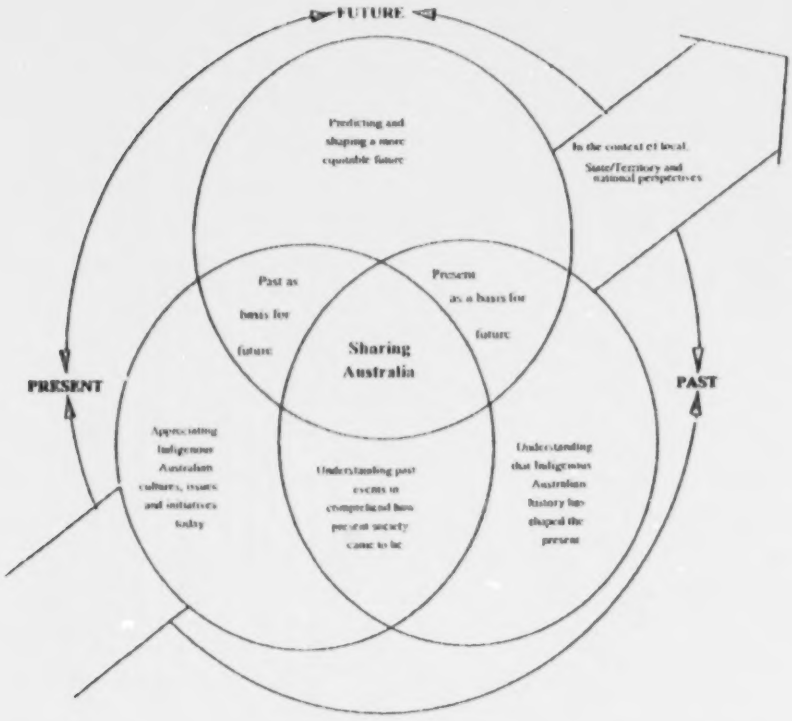
FUTURE
Predicting and shaping a more equitable future
In the context of local, State/Territory and national perspectives
Past as basis for future
Present as a basis for future
Sharing Australia
PRESENT
PAST
Appreciating Indigenous Australian cultures, issues and initiatives today
Understanding post events to comprehend how present society came to be
Understanding that Indigenous Australian history has shaped the present

FIGURE 2
A Theoretical Model of a Holistic Approach to Developing Indigenous Australian Studies Units of Work

Model Core Subject Manual

Comprised of two volumes, the model core subject manual (Craven (Ed.), 1996a; 1996b) is a comprehensive resource that is one of the key components of project materials. The model core subject manual contains an overview of the purpose of the example subject, and detailed lecture and tutorial notes for fifteen topics (see Figure 1) including example overheads and handouts. In addition, each lecture topic contains: a sample overview of lecture content; suggested concepts and ideas that could be conveyed in the topic; possible input ideas for visiting speakers; possible resources; useful references; and other references to assist educators adapt materials to their needs.

Using the Right Words

'Using the Right Words: Appropriate Terminology for Indigenous Australian Studies' (Craven, 1996d) is a book designed to assist teachers to avoid inadvertently conveying misconceptions and stereotypes about

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Aboriginal Australia by considering appropriate and inappropriate terminology. The idea for developing this educational terminology list came from repeated corrections of stereotypical expressions used by student teachers when writing teaching units and participating class discussions. It is principally designed to help student teachers and practicing teachers by pointing out potential pitfalls of some terminology although it has been found useful for other professions and has sparked debate on reconceptualisations of institutionalized language used in other professions (e.g. Craven, 1999e; Smith; 1998). The list is designed to be educational by explaining why certain words may be preferable, while others may be offensive.

Teacher-Oriented Videotapes

Four teacher-oriented videotapes were developed as support resources by the project team. The video 'Munyarl Mythology' (20 mins) (University of New South Wales (UNSW), 1996) was designed to assist teachers understand the origins of some enduring stereotypes. This video exposes, confronts, and debunks some of the myths, misconceptions, stereotypes and untruths about Indigenous Australia that many other Australians have grown up with. The video 'Why Teach Aboriginal Studies?' (20 mins) (UNSW, 1996), was developed to assist teachers to understand the rationale for teaching Aboriginal Studies in schools. An interesting feature of the video is children from different schools explaining why they think it is important for teachers to teach Aboriginal Studies. 'Six Ways: Teaching Our Way' (20 mins) (UNSW, 1996) describes six case studies of effective Aboriginal Studies activities. The video features Indigenous artists and storytellers in schools, plays presenting statistical information, re-enactments of the story 'Father Sky, Mother Earth' written by Oodgeroo Noonuccal; and example excursions. Culture Educators (20 mins) (UNSW, 1996) features case studies of what Aboriginal community members do in schools. The video features community members, educators, teachers, and children discussing the benefits of Aboriginal community involvement in school programs.

Teaching Aboriginal Studies

An important plank in the 'Teaching the Teachers' resource is the teacher-oriented text 'Teaching Aboriginal Studies' (Craven (Ed.), 1999d) a copy of which was distributed to all teacher education institutions by the Council for Aboriginal Reconciliation (CAR) in 1999. This book is a

resource for teacher education and a practical guide to assist teachers to begin teaching Aboriginal Studies effectively. The book is written by respected and experienced Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal educators and is a product of consultation and collaboration across Australia. Chapter topics include: The rationale for teaching Aboriginal Studies, useful teaching resources, and strategies; model units of work; teaching for Reconciliation; the essential nature of community involvement; addressing misconceptions and stereotypes; a history of Aboriginal Education; the history of special treatment government policies; understanding why we need to reconceptualise our history; appropriate pedagogy for Aboriginal students; and comparative studies of other international Indigenous groups. Hence, the resource has been designed to assist teachers understand both essential background knowledge and practical strategies on teaching Aboriginal Studies and the resource was developed based by the fundamental theoretical orientations depicted in Figure 1. A unique feature of the book is the inclusion of a fresh collection of critical historic and contemporary images by Aboriginal and other Australian artists that are educational in their own right—and one of the first collections of such important classroom resources. The book also contains Aboriginal poetry and other literature, extracts from government reports and historical documents; and voices of Aboriginal people from all over the country. Therefore, the book is designed to be a teacher-oriented educational resource that draws upon many voices and genres.

PROJECT SUCCESSES

Project Evaluations

A number of universities have found the project materials to be "an invaluable resource" (Doherty and Browne, 1996, p. 70) for ensuring preservice teachers understand and appreciate the need to teach Aboriginal Studies.

Evaluations from student teachers from different universities utilizing project resources clearly indicate that they appreciate the inclusion of this subject in the teacher education curriculum. For example, Elton (1998) in evaluating the implementation of the core Aboriginal Studies subject at the Australian Catholic University concluded that: "The majority of the comments from both student evaluations and reflective journals were overwhelmingly positive and indicated great attitudinal changes particularly throughout the development of the unit . . . most notable was the absence of negative comments particularly from the anonymous evaluations . . . . Many students were astonished at what they were not taught in their previous education even in courses that they had done in the 1990's"

(pp.89-90). These student teachers are already making a difference in the education system by teaching Aboriginal Studies.

Utilization of Resource Materials

Project support resources, particularly the videotapes, have been found to be useful in all areas of teacher professional development and the videotapes 'Munyarl Mythology' and 'Why Teach Aboriginal Studies?' have been successfully used in Australian classrooms to instigate class discussion. The booklet 'Using the Right Words' has been found to be useful across different sectors of the community. For example, Museums Australia has published an adapted version as a guide to curators. There has also been demand for copies of 'Using the Right Words' from education organizations at all levels. For example, some departments of education have incorporated aspects of this terminology list into their Social Studies syllabus and New South Wales Teachers' Federation distributed extracts from the booklet to all of its members in 1997.

Making a Difference

Importantly the 'Teaching the Teachers: Indigenous Australian Studies' Project of National Significance has provided an impetus for more Australian teacher education institutions to prepare student teachers to teach Indigenous Australian Studies effectively. In 1992 only one University in Australia, required student primary teachers to undertake a core Indigenous Australian Studies subject as a compulsory component of preservice teacher education. Dunkin (2002) has found that the number of teacher education institutions that have introduced core Aboriginal Studies teacher education courses has now risen significantly. "Among the 36 Australian institutions, there are 54 teacher education programs other than those designed specifically for Indigenous students. Twenty six (approximately 48%) of those programs include compulsory units of Indigenous Studies" (Dunkin, 2002, p. 21). Whilst this increase is dramatic and attests to the success of the 'Teaching the Teachers' project it is also important to note that in 2002 some 50% of teacher education programs have not heeded calls for the introduction of core Aboriginal Studies courses, nor has any education system required beginning teachers to have undertaken a core Aboriginal Studies teacher education course. Hence, the report card on Australia's progress whilst improving still needs more effort.

RECENT RESEARCH: THE CRAVEN, HALSE, MARSH, MOONEY AND WILSON-MILLER NATIONAL STUDY

Craven (2000) pointed out that:

> Given most core Aboriginal Studies teacher education courses have been introduced only recently, no systematic evaluation of these courses has as yet been undertaken.... Research can demonstrate the benefits of incorporating core courses in teacher education programs, and identify successful strategies employed by institutions to implement core studies to provide an impetus for all teacher education institutions to capitalise on and emulate recent successes to implement core studies (p. 72).

To begin to address this issue, Craven, Halse, Marsh, Mooney and Wilson-Miller (in review) were commissioned by the Department of Education, Science and Technology (DEST) to evaluate the impact of preservice primary teacher education Aboriginal Studies courses on practicing teachers' abilities to effectively teach Aboriginal Studies in primary schools. Whilst the Craven et al. study included analysis of both quantitative and qualitative data results discussed below focus on findings based on the quantitative data given the scope of the chapter.

Instrumentation

Craven et al. (in review) designed a questionnaire (available from the author) to characterize the Aboriginal Studies content teachers had covered in their preservice teacher education courses; measure teachers' self-perceptions of their ability to teach Aboriginal Studies and Aboriginal students effectively; and to glean teachers' insights in relation to desirable Aboriginal Studies and delivery approaches that could be incorporated in future teacher education courses. Scales were derived from this item pool to facilitate statistical analysis whereby the mean of all items within a scale was calculated to reflect the scale score.

The amount of Aboriginal Studies content covered in preservice teacher education courses was measured by teachers' ratings of the amount they had been taught about 21 topics. Teachers' ability and willingness to teach Aboriginal Studies and Aboriginal students was measured by teachers' ratings of 53 declarative sentences. From this item pool five scales were generated to measure teachers' self-concept—perceptions of teachers' abilities and enjoyment in regards to knowledge and teaching of Aboriginal Studies and Aboriginal students. Four scale scores comprised equal numbers of items that reflected cognitive (being competent in a particular area e.g., I am capable of teaching Aboriginal students well) and

affective (liking a particular area e.g., I enjoy teaching Aboriginal Studies and perspectives across the curriculum) domains of self-concept. Hence, these 4 scale scores were further analysed as 8 separate scale scores comprising 4 cognitive and 4 affective scales. The average of four relevant scale scores was also computed to derive a total Aboriginal Studies self-concept scale.

Other outcome variables assessed teachers' self-perceptions of the extent that they valued the importance of teaching Aboriginal Studies and Aboriginal students and their commitment to doing so (Valuing teaching of Aboriginal Studies; Importance of teaching Aboriginal Studies well; Valuing departmental policy).

Two additional multi-item scales measured: Evaluations of students' knowledge: Teachers' evaluations of the extent of their students' knowledge in relation to Aboriginal Studies subject matter and the extent to which students enjoy learning about Aboriginal Studies subject matter; and Teachers' knowledge of their education department's policies.

Teachers' insights on useful content to include in future preservice teacher education courses was measured by teacher ratings of the extent to which they disagreed or agreed that 4 areas of content should be taught about in future teacher education courses (knowledge of subject matter, incorporating perspectives across the Key Learning Areas, pedagogy, teaching Aboriginal children). Teachers' suggestions on how future teacher education courses could be best structured to teach preservice teachers about Aboriginal Studies was measured by asking teachers to choose 1 of 4 options (mandatory courses, elective courses, incorporating perspectives across all KLAs, all of the above).

Participants

An invitation to participate in the study was distributed by mail to potential participants who had undertaken a core or elective Aboriginal Studies teacher education course via selected universities and Principals in New South Wales Department of Education and Training primary schools. Participants were also invited to give an envelope containing another copy of the survey and information about the study to a colleague who taught in the same school but did not complete either a compulsory or elective Aboriginal Studies course as a component of their initial teacher education degree. Participants were asked to ensure, if at all possible, that the colleague chosen was the same sex and had similar teaching experience. This resulted in 392 teachers from 201 primary schools agreeing to participate in the study. The majority of the sample was female (n=324, 83%), compared to males (n=68, 17%), reflecting the predominance of females engaged in the teaching profession. The sample was comprised of teachers

who taught infants (n=135, 35%), lower primary (n=99, 25%), and upper primary (n=95, 24%) students, and other teachers (n=62, 16%) who tended to teach a number of year level groups. Participants included: 129 teachers who had undertaken a core course, 69 teachers who had undertaken an elective course, and 190 teachers who had been taught little about Aboriginal Studies in their initial teacher education degree. This resulted in a total of 198 teachers comprising the experimental group (teachers who had undertaken a core or an elective course) and 190 teachers comprising the control group (teachers who had not undertaken a core or an elective course).

Overview of Data Analysis Procedures and Key Results

A series of one way ANOVAs were conducted to test whether teachers who had undertaken an Aboriginal Studies teacher education course had statistically significant higher target variable scores in comparison to teachers who had not undertaken such courses.

Aboriginal Studies content taught in teacher education courses. The results demonstrated that teachers who had undertaken an Aboriginal Studies teacher education course reported statistically significant higher scores in relation to 21 Aboriginal Studies content areas included in the survey (see Table 1). These results suggest that teachers who undertake Aboriginal Studies teacher education courses are more likely to perceive that they have learnt appropriate content and strategies to assist them to teach Aboriginal Studies and Aboriginal students in relation to pedagogy, history and current issues compared to teachers who have not undertaken such courses.

Self-concept

Teachers who had undertaken Aboriginal Studies teacher education courses also had statistically significant higher overall self-concepts compared to control teachers in regards to: their perceptions of their knowledge of Aboriginal Studies subject matter, teaching Aboriginal students, and their self-concept of their overall ability to teach Aboriginal Studies and teach Aboriginal students effectively (see Table 2). No significant differences were present for teachers' self-concepts in relation to their overall ability to teach Aboriginal Studies and to consult with Aboriginal community members (see Table 2).

Examination of the differential impact of teacher education courses on cognitive and affective self-concept components reveals an interesting pattern of results that further elucidated the results. Cognitive self-concept facets for knowledge of subject matter, teaching Aboriginal Studies, teach-

TABLE 1
Comparisons of the Experimental and Control Groups in Relation to the Content Covered in Initial Teacher Education Courses

Topic	*Experimental*		*Control*			
	Mean	*SD*	*Mean*	*SD*	*F*	*Sig.*
Contact history	3.63	1.13	1.75	1.04	392.310	***
Government policies	3.58	1.17	1.43	.76	322.404	***
History Aboriginal education	3.52	1.10	1.46	.87	197.514	***
Disadvantage	3.51	1.09	1.40	.68	267.184	***
Misonceptions	3.47	1.15	1.38	.67	162.046	***
Issues	3.41	1.11	1.37	.67	281.361	***
Present society	3.37	1.01	1.49	.74	267.816	***
Rationale	3.35	1.13	1.38	.68	367.580	***
History as Australian History	3.24	1.23	1.43	.78	343.850	***
Stolen generations	3.23	1.36	1.27	.62	170.228	***
Aboriginal culture	3.19	1.07	1.30	.63	252.051	***
Incorporating perspectives	3.06	1.11	1.43	.73	376.932	***
Teaching Aboriginal children	3.04	1.16	1.39	.70	247.223	***
Native title	3.04	1.27	1.24	.51	114.867	***
Community involvement	2.99	1.09	1.31	.62	217.458	***
Teaching strategies	2.96	1.06	1.43	.77	378.384	***
Reconciliation	2.95	1.31	1.29	.63	352.613	***
Teaching resources	2.94	1.08	1.54	.83	393.421	***
Precontact society	2.88	1.17	1.41	.78	275.861	***
Writing units	2.49	1.21	1.24	.53	278.887	***
Comparative studies	2.34	1.08	1.30	.64	441.568	***

Note: *** $p < .001$

ing Aboriginal students, and Aboriginal Studies total self-concepts are significantly higher for the experimental group compared to the control group (see Table 3 and Figure 3). No significant differences between the groups are present for cognitive elements of community consultation self-concept. Significant differences between the experimental and the control group are also present for the affective component of teaching Aboriginal students whereby scores for the experimental group were significantly higher on this variable compared to the control group (see Table 3). No significant effects are present for other affective domains.

These results suggest that teachers who have undertaken Aboriginal Studies teacher education courses compared to teachers who have not undertaken such courses are more likely to understand Aboriginal Studies content matter, more likely to feel competent in regard to teaching Aboriginal Studies, and are more likely to feel competent in regard to under-

TABLE 2
Comparisons of the Experimental and Control Groups Self-Concept Scores

Self-concept facet		*Mean*	*SD*	*F*	*Sig*
Knowledge	Experimental	5.99	1.13	7.24	**
	Control	5.66	1.32		
Teaching Aboriginal Studies	Experimental	5.81	1.20	4.22	
	Control	5.60	1.36		
Teaching Aboriginal students	Experimental	6.15	1.19	7.46	**
	Control	5.80	1.29		
Community consultation	Experimental	5.69	1.33	.47	
	Control	5.59	1.43		
Total Aboriginal Studies	Experimental	5.85	1.09	4.40	*
	Control	5.67	1.18		
General teaching	Experimental	6.65	.73	.36	
	Control	6.70	.83		

Note: * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$

TABLE 3
Comparisons of the Experimental and Control Groups for Cognitive and Affective Components of Self-Concept Scores

Self-concept facet		*N*	*Mean*	*SD*	*F*	*Sig*
Knowledge affective	Experimental	195	6.48	1.23	.05	
	Control	185	6.50	1.37		
Knowledge cognitive	Experimental	197	5.53	1.36	17.76	***
	Control	189	4.87	1.69		
Aboriginal Studies teaching affective	Experimental	195	6.13	1.36	.16	
	Control	184	6.19	1.36		
Aboriginal Studies teaching cognitive	Experimental	197	5.49	1.26	7.31	**
	Control	189	5.09	1.60		
Teaching students affective	Experimental	192	6.43	1.38	4.38	*
	Control	186	6.12	1.52		
Teaching students cognitive	Experimental	197	5.87	1.31	7.07	**
	Control	187	5.48	1.55		
Consultation affective	Experimental	194	5.92	1.49	.23	
	Control	182	5.99	1.49		
Consultation cognitive	Experimental	197	5.50	1.37	2.61	
	Control	189	5.25	1.59		
Aboriginal Studies total affective	Experimental	197	6.22	1.25	.05	
	Control	188	6.19	1.32		
Aboriginal Studies total cognitive	Experimental	197	5.60	1.16	10.33	**

Note: * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

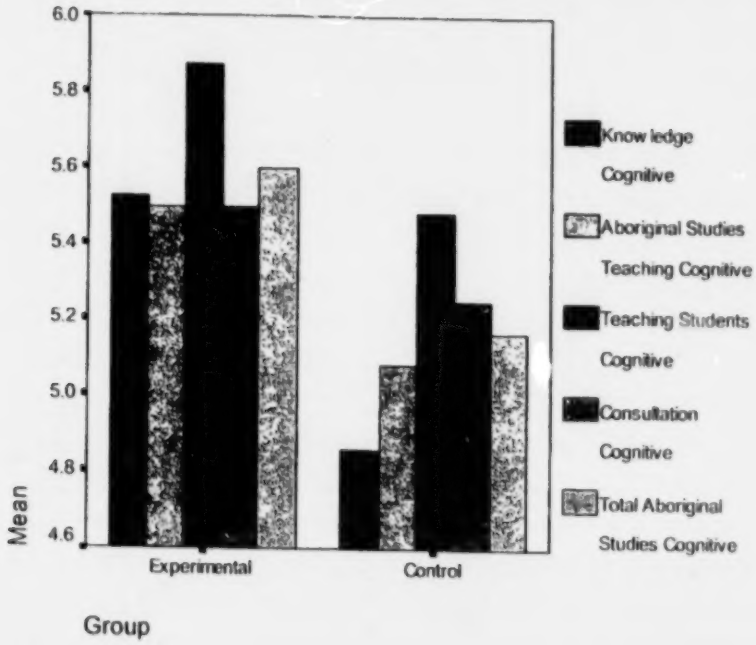

FIGURE 3
Graph of Cognitive Levels of Self-Concept by Experimental and Control Groups

standing and being able to teach Aboriginal students well. In addition, teachers who have undertaken Aboriginal Studies teacher education courses are also more likely to enjoy teaching Aboriginal students compared to teachers who have not undertaken such courses.

These results attest to the power of teacher education courses to impact positively on teachers' self-concepts in regard to both teaching Aboriginal Studies and Aboriginal students. The results in relation to affective components of self-concept in relation to knowledge and teaching Aboriginal Studies are of concern. These results suggest teacher education courses may not be fostering teachers' enjoyment of learning about and teaching Aboriginal Studies. Similarly, the non-significant results for both cognitive and affective components of community consultation self-concept suggest that this is an area of self-concept that teacher education courses are not having a significant impact on. Given community consultation takes place at the school level, and given the diversity of Aboriginal communities perhaps it is difficult for teacher education institutions to educate students on all aspects of the complexity of this task.

Extent to Which Teachers Value the Teaching of Aboriginal Studies

No significant differences between groups were present for any of the scales measuring valuing dimensions. Teachers in both the experimental

and control groups rated the extent to which they valued teaching Aboriginal Studies similarly (see Table 4). Mean scores suggest that teachers' ratings reflecting valuing the rationale and importance of Aboriginal Studies ranged from a response of 'mostly true' to 'true.'. Ratings for valuing departmental policy and the need to teach Aboriginal Studies were somewhat lower for both groups ranging from 'more true than false' to 'mostly true.' Of particular concern was the lowest rating assigned by both groups to the variable commitment (see Table 4). These results suggest that both teachers who have experienced Aboriginal Studies teacher education courses and those who have not experienced such courses equally value the importance of teaching Aboriginal Studies, however some important areas of teachers' values did not seem to be optimal. As such these results also suggest that teacher education courses may not be assisting preservice teachers to develop appropriate values.

Teachers' knowledge of departmental policy and teachers' evaluations of students' knowledge

Teachers' evaluations of the extent of their students' knowledge in relation to Aboriginal Studies subject matter and the extent to which students enjoy learning about Aboriginal Studies subject matter were not significantly different for the experimental and control groups. Teachers' scores in relation to their knowledge of departmental requirements were also not significantly different for the participating groups.

The Relation Among Variables

Path analysis was undertaken to explore the relation between variables for both the control and experimental groups. Path analysis is a reasonable

TABLE 4
Comparisons of the Experimental and Control Groups In Relation to Teacher Values

Valuing area		*N*	*Mean*	*SD*
Rationale	Core course	195	6.85	1.28
	No course	189	6.86	1.20
Commitment	Core course	197	5.21	1.53
	No course	188	5.35	1.75
Teaching Aboriginal Studies	Core course	197	6.58	1.24
	No course	188	6.52	1.26
Departmental policy	Core course	195	6.42	1.38
	No course	188	6.63	1.32
Importance	Core course	197	6.78	1.05
	No course	188	6.80	1.11

test of the relation between variables, however given the data collected is not longitudinal in nature, causality cannot be inferred.

Path analyses were conducted separately for the experimental (see Figure 4) and control groups of teachers. For the experimental group self-concept shared a strong relation with teaching pedagogy (.57***), teaching history (.52***), teaching current issues (.54***), students' knowledge (.86***), and the implementation and appreciation of departmental requirements (.76***). This pattern of results was similar for the control group. These results suggest that teachers' self-concepts have an important relation to what they perceive they actually teach, student knowledge outcomes produced, and their ability to implement and appreciate departmental policy. These results reaffirm the critical importance of teachers' self-concept in relating to desirable educational outcomes.

Teachers' values shared a very strong relation with self-concept for both the experimental (.87***) and the control group (.80***). This variable was also related to teaching current issues (.30**) for the experimental group, to students' knowledge (.57***, .34***), and teachers' ability to implement departmental policy (.33***, .27**) for both the experimental and control groups respectively. These results suggest that teachers' values have an important relation to aspects of teaching, students' knowledge outcomes, and implementing departmental policy.

Teachers' values also shared a positive relation with what teachers had been taught in teacher education courses about pedagogy for the experimental (.26***) group. This result suggests that learning about how to teach Aboriginal Studies can assist teachers to develop positive values towards teaching Aboriginal Studies and Aboriginal students.

The relation of what teachers learn in their initial teacher education courses with other variables is illuminating. For experimental teachers what they are taught in their preservice course about history relates to the extent to which they teach history (.24*). Likewise learning pedagogy relates to the extent experimental teachers draw upon pedagogical content (.17*). Strangely what students have been taught about current issues relates negatively to utilizing pedagogy (-.24*) and teaching history (-.25*). In addition, only learning pedagogy as discussed above relates to values. Results for the control group are of even more concern as the little they may have learnt in their preservice teacher education courses has no impact on teachers' values, self-concepts, and with the exception of the relation between learning pedagogy and teaching pedagogy (.16*) no relationship with important outcomes. These results suggest that what preservice teachers learn in teacher education courses has at least some relation to what they actually teach although this relation seems moderate. The results also suggest that preservice courses may not be maximizing teachers' development of either positive values or self-concept in relation to teaching Aboriginal Studies and Aboriginal students.

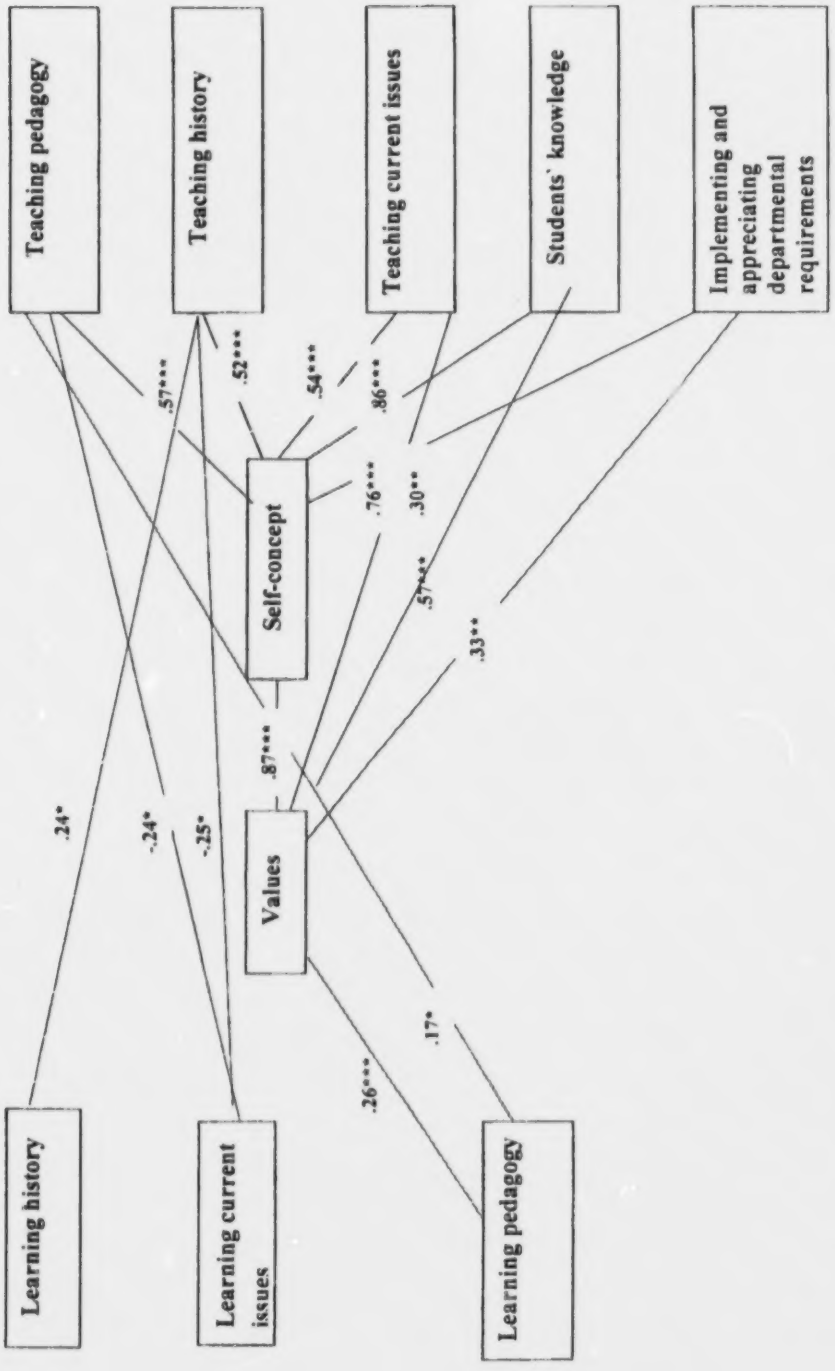

FIGURE 4
Path Analysis for the Experimental Group Showing the Relationship Between Learning, Values, Self-Concept, and Outcomes

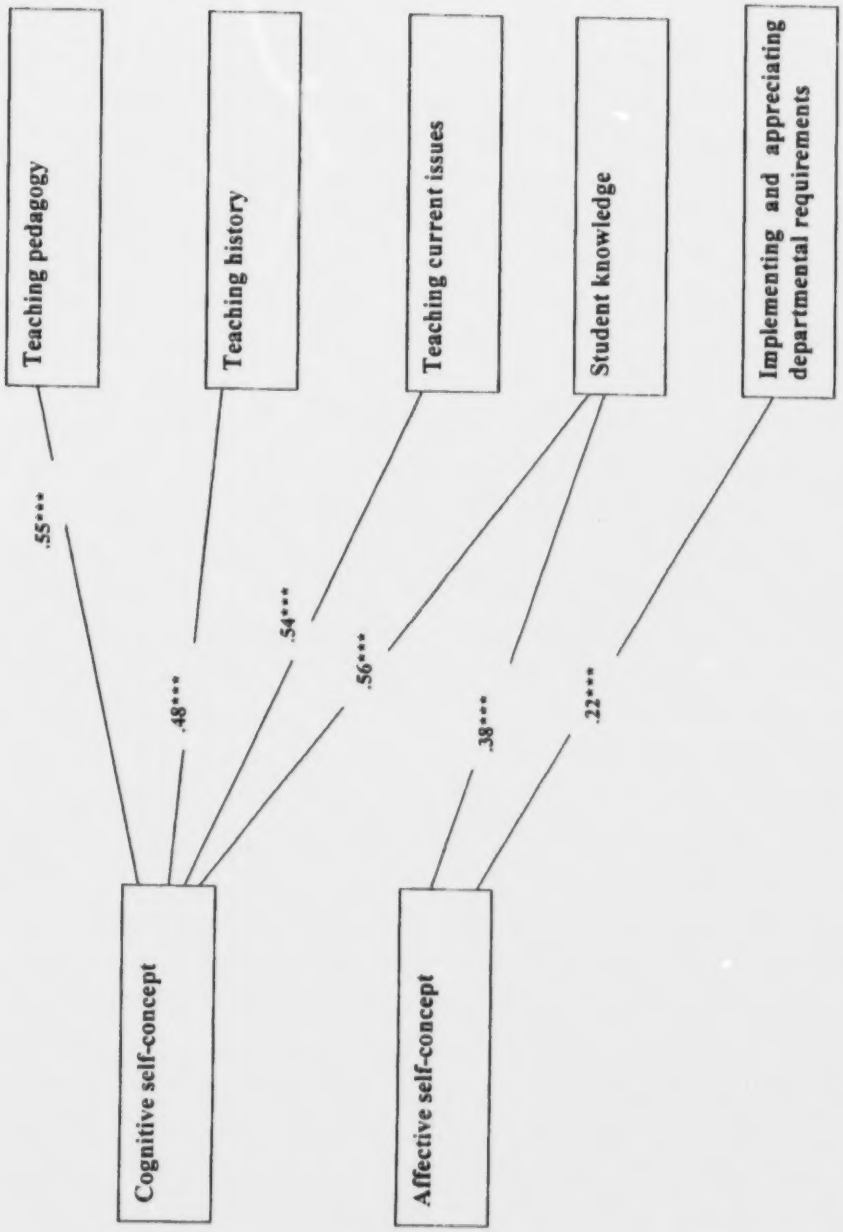

FIGURE 5
Path Analysis for the Experimental Group Showing the Relationship Between Cognitive and Affective Components or Self-Concept and Outcomes

To further explore the differential relation of affective and cognitive components of self-concept to desirable outcome a path analysis was conducted based on the experimental group (see Figure 5). Cognitive components of self-concept shared a strong positive relationship with teaching pedagogy, teaching history, teaching current issues, students' knowledge, and implementing departmental requirements (see Figure 5). These results suggest that teachers' self-concept in regard to feeling capable are strongly related to desirable outcomes.

Affective components of self-concept are strongly related to students' knowledge and to a lesser extent teachers' ability to implement departmental requirements. These results suggest that affective components of self-concept also may have an important relation to desirable outcomes. Teacher education courses whilst they impact on affective components of teachers' self-concepts to teach Aboriginal students do not have a significant impact on teachers' affective components of self-concept in other domains. Whilst teacher education courses impact positively on cognitive components of teachers' self-concepts, the limited impact in comparison to what teachers teach, may be attributed to the lack of effect of such courses on teachers' affective self-concepts. These results may imply that what determines the extent to which teachers teach Aboriginal Studies may also largely be determined by what they enjoy and value teaching as well as their Aboriginal Studies knowledge.

Teachers' Suggestions for Future Teacher Education Courses

The majority of participating teachers (59.7%) reported that future teacher education courses could be best structured by undertaking a multifaceted approach to addressing Aboriginal Studies by requiring all teachers to do a mandatory course in Aboriginal Studies, offering elective courses, and by incorporating Aboriginal perspectives in all Key Learning Areas. Other preferred structures included: requiring teachers to do a mandatory course (17.5%); offering elective courses (24.1%); and teaching perspectives across the Key Learning Area (40%).

DISCUSSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

The results of the Craven et al. (in review) study are important in that this study is the first Australian national study to begin to elucidate the impact of Aboriginal Studies teacher education courses on teachers' ability to understand and teach Aboriginal Studies.

The study found that preservice Aboriginal Studies courses do make a positive difference. Teachers who have undertaken such courses perceive that they know significantly more both about subject matter in relation to

Aboriginal history, current issues, pedagogy for teaching Aboriginal Studies, and about teaching Aboriginal students, compared to teachers who have not undertaken such courses. They also have statistically significant higher self-concepts in regard to: their knowledge of Aboriginal Studies subject matter, their knowledge on how to teach Aboriginal Studies, and their overall ability to teach Aboriginal Studies and teach Aboriginal students effectively, compared to teachers who have not undertaken such courses. In addition, teachers who have undertaken Aboriginal Studies preservice teacher education courses have statistically significant higher self-concepts in relation to their ability to teach Aboriginal students and their enjoyment thereof. Results of path analyses demonstrated that teachers' self-concepts have an important relationship to what teachers actually teach, the knowledge that students acquire, and teachers' ability to implement and appreciate departmental policy. These results attest to the critical importance of teachers' self-concept in relating to desirable educational outcomes.

Path analyses also demonstrated that the values that teachers hold in regards to teaching Aboriginal Studies and students had a strong positive relationship to self-concept for both teachers who had undertaken Aboriginal Studies teacher education courses and those who had not. Teachers' values also had an important relationship to students' understandings and knowledge in relation to Aboriginal Studies and teachers' ability to implement departmental policy. Path analyses also demonstrated that learning about how to teach Aboriginal Studies and teach Aboriginal students related to the development of positive teacher values. Of particular concern was the finding that teacher education courses that did not include Aboriginal Studies courses had no impact on either teachers' self-concepts or values in regards to teaching Aboriginal Studies and Aboriginal students, and little relationship with teaching Aboriginal Studies and students' knowledge.

Preservice Aboriginal Studies teacher education courses were also found to impact more on cognitive components of self-concept (feelings of competence) rather than affective components of self-concept (enjoyment of teaching and learning about Aboriginal Studies). Path analyses demonstrated that cognitive aspects of self-concept were strongly related to teaching pedagogy, teaching history, teaching current issues, teachers' ability to implement departmental requirements, and students' knowledge. However, affective aspects of self-concept were also related to students' knowledge and teachers' ability to implement departmental requirements. Possible explanations for this pattern of results emerged from the interview data and open-ended responses, with a number of participants identifying problematic features of preservice courses including modes of presentation that alienated students. These results taken together with the importance of teachers' values suggest that the extent to which teachers teach Aboriginal Studies and teach Aboriginal students effectively may also

be largely determined by what teachers enjoy and value as well as their knowledge of Aboriginal Studies content and appropriate pedagogy.

What teachers learn in preservice teacher education courses also relates to the extent that they teach Aboriginal history in schools and draw upon appropriate pedagogy to teach both Aboriginal Studies and Aboriginal students. However, results based on one way ANOVAs (t-tests) and teacher interviews suggested that some teacher education courses may not ensure that teachers can adapt the content they have been taught in teacher education to apply to the classroom and that some courses do not contain an adequate focus on pedagogical skills.

The study also found that the Aboriginal Studies courses currently available to preservice teachers would benefit from review and refinement to better meet the needs of teachers and schools. In particular, participants reported that these courses often fail to develop skills relevant to classroom practice, especially in relation to: teachers' self-concept in teaching Aboriginal Studies and teaching Aboriginal students, writing units of work, developing pedagogical skills, and understanding departmental requirements. Participants' responses also indicated that teacher education courses were least effective in regards to preparing teachers to effectively consult with local Aboriginal communities, and to teach comparative Indigenous Studies.

All teachers surveyed valued the importance of Aboriginal Studies. In particular, teachers saw Aboriginal Studies as an important strategy for achieving Reconciliation and developing informed citizens. Teachers who had not undertaken preservice teacher education, however, attached a lesser importance to Aboriginal Studies and the implementation of Education Department policies on Aboriginal Studies than their counterparts with preservice training. This finding was explored more fully during the interviews whereby teachers reported that they were more likely to incorporate Aboriginal Studies content into their teaching if there were Aboriginal students in their classes, with a number of teachers arguing that Aboriginal Studies was no more important than multicultural education. Thus, the data revealed that teachers do not necessarily see Aboriginal Studies content as important for *all* Australians, and that strategic, proactive policies and programs are required to redress this perspective within the profession.

Whilst teachers attested to having a sound knowledge of Education Department policies, the extent of this understanding was often limited with a number of teachers reporting that they had never seen the relevant policy documents in their State/Territory. Thus, it appears that despite the good intentions of many teachers, this finding calls into question the extent to which the profession is meeting the educational and philosophical agendas set by Departments of Education.

Participants offered a range of suggestions for improving the teaching/learning of Aboriginal Studies in schools and the quality of preservice

Aboriginal Studies courses. There was a strong view that Aboriginal Studies should be included in preservice teacher education courses as a mandatory subject. Participants also suggested that elective courses could not ensure that the entire teaching profession was adequately equipped to teach Aboriginal Studies and Aboriginal students. Nevertheless, teachers also argued that Aboriginal Studies should also be available as an elective subject as well as a core course to cater for those with special interests or needs, and infused into curriculum subjects in the Key Learning Areas to ensure the effective transfer of Aboriginal Studies into applied contexts.

SUMMARY

> All white well-wishers, in the end
> On you our chiefest hopes depend;
> Public opinion's our best friend
> To beat the foe (Nonnuccal, 1990, p. 3).

The above words were used by Oodgeroo Nonnuccal to appeal to fair minded Australians to contribute to addressing the plight of her people. These words have an enduring message that also seems relevant to teacher educators today. While the report card in Australian teacher education is encouraging, recent research suggests much remains to be done. A number of Australian teacher education institutions still need to recognise their moral and social responsibility to introduce mandatory Aboriginal Studies teacher education courses. Existing courses also need to be critically examined and refined to maximize their potency. Further research needs to be undertaken to evaluate current courses and elucidate key features of successful teacher education courses that can be emulated by other institutions. Despite the fact that Australian courses are not as yet ideal, Australia's recent progress serves as an important model for other nations and is testimony that teacher education can make a difference and the big educational issues can begin to be tackled by nation states so that one day a glad tomorrow may dawn for all.

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CHAPTER 9

SELF-REGULATED LEARNING AND THE USE OF INFORMATION AND COMMUNICATIONS TECHNOLOGY IN NORWEGIAN TEACHER EDUCATION

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INTRODUCTION

Teacher education is an issue of great public concern in many societies. This is no matter of surprise, because the qualifications of teachers are seen as closely related to the well-being and the development of children as humans and learners. However, investments and improvements in teacher education are believed not only to make schools better places to live and learn, but also to promote the development of human, economic,

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and technological resources that can improve the ability to compete with other countries.

Of late, the importance of information and communications technology (ICT) for reforming Norwegian teacher education has been strongly emphasized. Indeed, the suggestion is that the use of such technology has the potential to change teaching and learning (Ministry of Education, Research, and Church Affairs, 2000). More specifically, ICT is seen as an essential tool for transforming transmission-oriented pedagogy into forms of self-regulated and collaborative learning.

There should be particularly favorable conditions for technology-based educational reforms in Norway. Both availability and use of ICT are high in the population, with the percentage of Norwegians defined as Internet users among the highest in an international context (Sofres, 2002), and with young people being the most active users (Gallup, 2002). There is reason to doubt, however, that technology in itself will improve or transform education. For example, there are indications that Norwegian teachers do not integrate ICT into classroom teaching and learning very frequently, even though the availability of ICT in schools seems better than in most other countries (OECD, 2002). Larry Cuban (1997) refers to this as "the puzzle of high-tech schools and low-tech teaching".

In this chapter, our purpose is to discuss aspects of this puzzle in the context of Norwegian teacher education. The introduction of new technology in teacher education has been described as an opportunity to enhance teacher learning (Bransford, Brown, & Cocking, 2000; Goldman, 2001). However, this enhancement is not only a question of designing the right program. While designing good technological environments for learning is certainly of great importance, sociocultural issues, such as cultural traditions and value systems, must also be considered. Thus, both design issues and sociocultural issues are actualized by Cuban's puzzle.

The remainder of the chapter is divided into four main parts. In the first, we discuss general teacher education in Norway, which qualifies for teaching all subjects in all classes in the compulsory primary and lower secondary schools. In the second, we focus on an innovative teacher education program where the use of ICT, as well as student responsibility for knowledge construction, was intended to pervade all parts of the program. We discuss sociocultural influences on program construction and report some data from evaluations carried out during the first year of the study. In the third part, we focus our discussion on the need to support student development of self-regulatory and social interactional skills if technological innovations are to make a real difference to what is going on in the classroom. The chapter concludes with a discussion concerning some broad sociocultural issues involved in the implementation of ICT-based learning environments.

GENERAL TEACHER EDUCATION IN NORWAY

In this section, we outline the system for general teacher education and highlight the conceptions of learning and teaching that are expressed in the national curriculum for teacher education. We also discuss the strong emphasis that is given to promoting competence in self-regulated learning through the use of ICT within Norwegian teacher education. In addition, we review research indicating that Norwegian teacher education despite this emphasis has changed little, and discuss whether an increased use of ICT may contribute to the development of new forms of teaching and learning.

General Teacher Education

General teacher education primarily qualifies for teaching at the levels of compulsory education. In Norway, compulsory education spans 10 years of children's lives (6-16 years). During the 1990s, interdisciplinary studies and the use of innovative teaching methods like project- and problem-based learning gained a foothold in the compulsory school. The students are expected to take more responsibility for their own learning and problem solving, and the use of ICT is seen as an important tool in this respect. Hence, the use of ICT is to be involved in the learning of all school subjects.

There are 16 state colleges offering general teacher education. All of them follow the national curriculum for general teacher education, laid down by the Ministry of Education, Research, and Church Affairs (1999). The 4-year general teacher education programs qualify for a position as class teacher at all levels of primary and lower secondary schools. Admittance to general teacher education programs requires that students have completed upper secondary school (16-19 years), regardless of what subjects and branches they have chosen at the upper secondary level.

The general teacher education programs include one compulsory part consisting of educational theory (e.g., adapting teaching to individual students' needs, sociocultural perspectives on children's learning, the school as an organization), supervised practice in schools (18 weeks during the first three years of study and 2-4 weeks in the fourth year), and a study of the main school subjects (e.g., mathematics, Norwegian, religion and ethics, art and crafts). The study of each school subject is combined with a study of teaching methods in that subject. In the fourth year, students choose to specialize in certain subjects.

Graded examinations are few and far between in general teacher education programs. Thus, only final examinations in the different subjects are

graded, not students' day-to-day work during the semester, their preparation for lessons, their classwork, or their work on assignments. The final examinations may include written, oral, or practical tests, and other work produced in the course of the program (e.g., project work) may be evaluated as part of the final examinations.

The demand for teachers is high in Norway, and the chances of getting a job after finishing general teacher education are very good no matter what grades students have received in the program. Moreover, all teachers who have graduated from a general teacher education program receive the same salary independent of their graded academic performance. Teachers' salary is generally regarded as relatively low.

While general teacher education in Norway is certainly centralized in the sense of being regulated by the national curriculum, every college offering general teacher education also has a unique profile and offers a unique study program. Within the framework of the national curriculum, each college of education provides a more detailed description of program contents, organization, teaching methods, and evaluation.

Conception of Learning

The conception of learning underlying all teacher education programs assumes that children are curious and enterprising and wish to learn and try new things. Thus, schools should support children's natural motivation for learning and encourage their attempts to master new challenges. As children grow older, it is seen as important that they are given more responsibility for their own learning process. Accordingly, teacher education students should be given independent responsibility for their own learning, even in the subjects where they have limited background knowledge. At the same time, however, it is emphasized that learning is not only a matter of independence, but also a matter of team work and a sense of community, stressing the importance of learning in interaction with others.

Individual differences are also viewed as important in the conception of learning that is expressed in the national curriculum for general teacher education. An emphasis on individualized or adapted learning experiences is grounded on the assumption that equality between students can only be achieved by taking individual differences into consideration and providing a diversity of school tasks reflecting those differences. It is a fundamental view that also children who strive more than others, both academically and socially, should be given opportunities to use their abilities, attain a positive view of themselves, and experience continued learning and personal development.

Conception of Teaching

In accordance with a view of learning that stresses the importance of students' own responsibility for their learning, teaching is primarily understood as a process of mediating, guiding, and supervising students' work. Good teaching also involves the provision of varied yet challenging tasks that students are able to perform. In addition, social interaction between teachers and students, as well as between students, are seen as an essential element in good teaching. Indeed, students are regarded as co-workers in the teaching process, and teachers have to work together with their own students also in the evaluation of the students' learning environment.

All teacher education students must participate and be supervised in doing interdisciplinary projects and learn to organize different types of project work. Moreover, the teaching process involves cooperation between teachers, especially between teachers sharing responsibility for the same group or class of children. Cooperation between teachers and parents, based on mutual respect and focusing on what is in the best interest of the child, is also a crucial part of the teaching process.

Finally, teaching should be adapted to the abilities and progress of each individual child, giving each child assistance and support on an as-needed basis.

ICT in Norwegian Teacher Education

A number of national initiatives have recently advocated increased use of ICT in higher education. For example, a much debated White Paper from the Ministry of Education, Research, and Church Affairs (2001a), initiating extensive qualitative reforms within higher education, emphasized that new teaching methods involving the use of ICT must be an important part of those reforms. Among other things, ICT is seen as an important tool for promoting a high level of student activity, with students planning and monitoring their own study progression in a self-regulated way.

The Ministry of Education, Research, and Church Affairs (2000) has also given special emphasis to increased use of ICT in teacher education. In launching their action plan for increasing teacher competence in the pedagogical use of ICT, the Ministry maintained that ICT is not only an important pedagogical tool, but also a potential catalyst for the development of new roles for teachers and students. The Ministry sees ICT in education as no less than one of the most important elements in the Government's educational policy in the new century.

It is specified in the Ministry's action plan for ICT in Norwegian education that all student teachers must learn to develop and use ICT in teach-

ing and learning. Because increased teacher competence is seen as essential for implementing ICT-based learning environments, student teachers must develop skills in the basic use of ICT, the use of ICT as a pedagogical tool, and the use of ICT integrated into the teaching and learning of the subjects. In addition to this focus on teacher education, the Ministry wishes to concentrate on Internet-based continued education and training courses for teachers.

Is General Teacher Education Still a Matter of Teacher-Regulated Knowledge Transmission?

It is certainly possible that the directives and guidelines expressed in the national curriculum for teacher education, as well as in other political and administrative documents dealing with general teacher education, have only limited effect on local teacher education cultures, that is, on the everyday practices embedded in norms, values, and conceptions of reality based on tradition and history (Kvalbein, 2001). While political and administrative resolutions stress the importance of student teachers taking greater responsibility for their own learning and developing self-regulatory skills through the use of ICT, this does not necessarily prevent that traditional instructional practices are retained in local cultures.

Inger Anne Kvalbein (1998) recently studied the culture of teaching and learning at a large Norwegian college offering general teacher education. Using a qualitative approach, involving both interviews and fieldwork, she demonstrated that general teacher education to a large extent reproduced traditional forms of teaching and learning that the student teachers had previously encountered in primary and secondary school. For example, Kvalbein (1998) found that the lecturers felt responsible for students' acquisition of what the lecturers themselves defined as essential parts of the subjects. The lecturers seemed to control students' acquisition of knowledge through their selection and structuring of subject matter. In addition, the lecturers took the responsibility for students' further study of the presented material, by giving them teacher-made assignments to work on, by organizing study groups, and by setting aside time for students to work in those groups during the day. Kvalbein (1998) pointed out that when the lecturers take major responsibility for students' knowledge acquisition, students are left with little responsibility for their own learning during everyday studying. Usually, it suffices for students to appear for the lessons and participate in the activities that are decided on by the instructors.

In regard to attitudes and behaviors of student teachers, Kvalbein (1998) found that they conceived of their instructors as organizers and authoritative sources of knowledge, with the students' task being that of

meeting the demands made on them by the instructors with as little effort as possible. The student teachers seemed to expect and accept that the instructors to a large extent controlled and regulated the study activities, and they regarded this as the natural form of instruction. In fact, they viewed the knowledge in the study not only as fixed and given, but as given by the instructor. Accordingly, they were concerned with acquiring the knowledge presented by the instructor during lectures, often writing down his or her notes on the blackboard or transparencies verbatim and uncritically. Kvalbein (1998) noted that students' trust in their instructor as an authority responsible for their learning actually seemed to increase in the course of their teacher education.

In contrast to the intentions expressed in political and administrative documents, then, everyday practice in teacher education may work against student development of responsibility for their own learning and self-regulatory skills. According to Zimmerman (1994), contexts that permit little amount of student choice in participation, in learning methods, and in which tasks to perform, as well as little amount of student control over their learning environment, limit the opportunity for the development of self-regulatory learning skills.

In Kvalbein's (1998) study, student teachers expressed that their study of theory at the college and their practice in schools were two different spheres with few points of contact between them. However, when Liv Sundli (2001) recently studied the supervised practice which is a compulsory part of general teacher education, she found that instructor control and induction into a traditional teacher role were important elements of the supervision process as well. This is certainly in contrast to current plans for supervised practice in general teacher education, where the development of critical self-reflection and reasoned teaching practice based on independent judgment are emphasized. Sundli (2001) used a qualitative approach combining the data technologies of field notes, document analysis, and interviews. Data from longitudinal case studies indicated that students became more self-reflective in the course of their study. The general impression is, however, that the supervised practice she observed was an extension of students' experiences in the theoretical part of their education, reinforcing conceptions of the instructor as omniscient, the students as recipients, and the knowledge as given.

Recently, the Ministry of Education, Research, and Church Affairs asked the Network Norway Council to conduct an evaluation of teacher education in Norway, including the four-year programs in general teacher education. The resulting report (Network Norway Council, 2001) indicated that most of the colleges wished to employ more student-activating instructional strategies in their general teacher education programs, for example, by increasing the amount of problem based learning and portfolio assessment. According to the Network Norway Council, turning instruction into ways of promoting active student learning and, thus, putting the student in

the center of the stage and making him or her more responsible for the learning process, is among the greatest future challenges for general teacher education programs. At the same time, the program evaluation conducted by the Network Norway Council showed that the national curriculum for general teacher education was seen as a main *obstacle* to quality improvement. In particular, the national curriculum was seen as imposing too many detailed regulations that made it difficult for the institutions to create programs with individual profiles in order to provide good learning environments for their students.

While the informants actually considered themselves constrained by a detailed and ambitious national curriculum that all programs must adhere to, the Network Norway Council (2001) pointed out that the national curriculum may provide opportunities for change that are not utilized at the institutional level. In other words, teacher educators, who tend to impose unnecessary restrictions on themselves, may interpret the national curriculum for general teacher education too rigidly. Especially, it may seem that the national curriculum for general teacher education leaves room for the development of self-regulated learning that is not utilized in many local teacher education cultures.

ICT as a Potential Catalyst for the Development of New Forms of Teaching and Learning

Recent surveys indicate that Norwegian teachers' skills in using ICT are quite limited. For example, Statistics Norway (1997) documented that although the majority of teachers had some skills in using word-processors, less than half of them were able to use ICT as a pedagogical tool. Moreover, it was found that ICT was used little in general teacher education. The Second Information Technology in Education Study confirmed these findings, showing that primary and secondary school teachers generally felt that they were insufficiently trained in using ICT for educational purposes (Quale, 2000).

The Ministry's action plan has resulted in 29 projects at different colleges of education, aimed at promoting increased ICT competence among student teachers and teachers. Evaluation of these projects after one year indicates that the action plan has led to revisions of local curriculums for teacher education, concerning both their structure and their content (Ministry of Education, Research, and Church Affairs, 2001b). Specifically, revised curriculums have emphasized more student-centered teaching and learning, for example, in the form of more problem-based learning and interdisciplinary projects. As the use of e-mail and Web-sites for the purpose of communication and information seems to be well-established in

the institutions in question, there seems to be less emphasis on basic ICT competence and more focus on ICT as a pedagogical tool in these projects. Because the ICT innovation projects are still in an initial phase, several of the institutions taking part have concentrated on evaluating different net-based tools by piloting them on small groups of students. Another priority has been to increase the college teachers' competence in pedagogical use of different kinds of groupware.

One major project growing out of the Ministry's action plan for ICT in education is a four-year project directed at primary and secondary schools that involves 135 schools in nine different counties. When Erstad and Frolich (2002) recently surveyed the participating teachers' use of and attitudes towards ICT, they found that in the initial phase of the project, the teachers seemed to use ICT mainly for three different purposes:

a. word processing,
b. Web-based information search, and
c. e-mail communication.

In their work as teachers, they used ICT most frequently to plan their teaching and to search the Web for subject-related information. The teachers felt that there was not enough time to plan the integration of ICT into their actual teaching and therefore used it less as a part of the lessons. At the same time, the teachers who participated in this project believed that the use of ICT can influence students' work positively, with the majority of the teachers expressing that ICT mediates more flexible and differentiated forms of teaching and learning. In fact, about 80% of the teachers doubted that it was possible to realize the intentions of the national curriculum without integrating ICT into teaching and learning processes.

The teachers in this project also believed that the use of ICT might promote student skills in self-directed learning, for example, in regard to searching and judging different information sources. Moreover, nearly all the teachers believed that the use of ICT could contribute to more student collaboration and project-based learning. However, even though they maintained that the use of ICT had led to a greater variation in teaching methods, these teachers did not really think that it had resulted in major changes in the organization of their daily teaching. This seems to be consistent with the idea that the pedagogical use of ICT should be given greater emphasis in teacher education programs.

In what follows, we will describe a specific teacher education program attempting to take advantage of the opportunity to concentrate on developing self-regulated learning and competence in using ICT within the framework of the national curriculum. Some evaluation data regarding this innovative effort will also be reported.

ICT AS A FACTOR OF CHANGE IN TEACHER EDUCATION

The Program

The general teacher education program described in this section was, in part, initiated as the result of a national competition between institutions for public funds to be used in changing and modernizing teacher education, specifically, in the direction of using ICT more actively in the study and providing a better integration between the theoretical and practical elements of teacher education. As one of the winners of this competition, the Department of Teacher Education at Østfold College started a project called "ICT as a factor of change in teacher education" in the autumn of 2000, including 120 first-year general teacher education students in the project.

The main aims of the project were to concentrate on more student-activating learning methods, integrate ICT into the daily study work, and develop a better practice training model for general teacher education. In this way, the project was in keeping with the Ministry's intention to use ICT as a "catalyst for change and the development of new roles for pupils, students and teachers" (Ministry of Education, Research, and Church Affairs, 2000, p. 9). The Ministry sees the need for such change and development in light of at least two major challenges:

a. the need for flexible and adaptive competence in a global competitive market, and
b. the need to avoid social divisions in the mastery of the new technologies.

One might therefore say that the funding of the program was linked to both economic factors (i.e., global competition) and to an egalitarian ideology.

While the program writers at the college explicitly referred to the Ministry's intention, they also used theory-based arguments, claiming in accordance with social constructionist theories that learning is a matter of social practice occurring in problem-based group work. In addition to the directions from the Ministry and such theoretical argumentation, several other sociocultural influences seemed to be at work in this case.

The project responded to a number of initiatives from the Ministry's regional office, and the college could therefore hope to get the responsibility for several other projects from the portfolio of that office. Moreover, Norway's largest telecommunication company entered the project as a partner on technological issues. As Fabos and Young (1999) have argued, telecommunication projects in education may often be seen as "public relation tools". In this case, the project was used to market the college and

selected partners as well as the region. In fact, local authorities, trades, and industries had for several years been eager to promote the region as being innovative and ICT-oriented.

It should also be noted that the new ICT-based teacher education program was introduced to address problems in recruiting student teachers to the college. Finally, the role of the head of the project should not be underestimated. This person was a true techno-enthusiast with a background in both education and ICT, who launched the idea and then worked very hard in planning and promoting the project.

In summary, the program seemed to be influenced by a complex set of sociocultural factors in interaction, involving political, economic, strategic, and theoretical considerations.

Four different activities of learning and teaching are foregrounded in the program:

- The core activity in the study is supposed to take place in so-called "basis groups," with four to six students participating in each group. The students are supposed to do most of their study work as active and responsible participants in these groups, working collaboratively on problems related to teaching practice within the framework of interdisciplinary projects.
- The students are also organized into larger "seminar groups," with about 30 students participating in each seminar. In these seminars, the students are supposed to present and discuss the results of their problem-based work in the basis groups with other students and the instructor.
- In addition, there are large lectures for all the 120 students. These lectures are also intended to contain elements of student activity and dialogue, and they are legitimized by their relevance for the problem-based learning in the smaller groups.
- A new practice-training model is intended to bring together the theoretical and practical elements of teacher education, and it involves that the student teachers stay in close contact with so-called practice schools during the entire study year. This is meant to let the student teachers experience everyday aspects of the teaching profession, and to connect their problem based learning and interdisciplinary project work at the college to real life teaching problems.

The evaluation practice is attempted to be adapted to the rest of the program, including both formative process evaluation and summative portfolio-based evaluation.

The interdisciplinary organization of the program involves that the individual subject is considered subsidiary to themes cutting across several different subjects. This organization is reflected in the organization of the faculty members into interdisciplinary teacher teams. Each of the teachers

in this team is responsible for guiding the work of two basis groups. ICT is seen as an important tool in students' problem-based learning and interdisciplinary project work. Indeed, a full-scale integration of ICT is seen as a precondition for changing the learning and teaching methods of the study and for organizing it in new ways. Every student in the program has his or her own laptop and is given unlimited GSM-access to the Internet for high-speed transmission of data and speech. In addition, all the students are connected to a wireless local area network establishing a digital learning center for presentations, discussions, commentaries, guidance, and information. The students are thus given flexible opportunities, in terms of both time and place, to actively search for information and participate in communication about subject matter globally as well as locally.

In summary, the general teacher education program described above represents an innovative effort to move teacher education from teacher-regulated knowledge transmission toward self-regulated knowledge construction based on real teaching problems. As an important tool purportedly mediating students' self-regulated knowledge construction and their collaborative work on real life problems, ICT is integrated into both students' daily work at the college and their contact with the outside world of schooling. In the next section, we present and discuss some available evaluation data from the first year of the project.

Program Evaluation

One hundred and twenty students started on the new general teacher education program at Østfold College in August 2000. The students ranged in age from 19 to 46 years (M = 24.8 years, *SD* = 6.4 years). There were 68.5 % female and 31.5 % male students in the program.

Several sets of evaluation data were collected during the first year of study. Early in the first semester, we surveyed the student teachers' academic motivational beliefs as well as their cognitive and metacognitive strategy use. During the second semester, we conducted a group interview with the students in one of the basis groups, and also observed these students as they worked on a project. In addition, we observed lectures in Norwegian and seminars in mathematics and interviewed the head of the project during the second semester. Near the end of the first semester, the College itself administered a questionnaire to the 120 students. Based on our evaluation, we briefly discuss some of the most important challenges facing this program.

First, there seemed to be little or no support for students' development of self-regulatory learning skills in the program. For example, the teaching and discussion of learning and study strategies was not systematically integrated into any of the different forms of instruction. Indeed, this is notable

given the fact that very much was demanded of the student teachers with respect to this, with the core activity in the program supposed to be student-regulated work in the basis groups, and with elements of student knowledge construction and problem-based learning also supposed to be part of the other forms of instruction. Our survey indicated that the students had not developed sophisticated self-regulatory learning skills on their own. Also, students' development of collaborative learning skills was not systematically supported in the program. For example, this aspect of studying should probably have been targeted more extensively and systematically to ensure that differences between the technological "haves" and "have-nots" did not increase through inappropriate division of work within the basis groups. Likewise, better support for student collaboration might have contributed to more group reflection on and regulation of social interactional processes during project work. Again, this omission is particularly noteworthy in the context of the great demands made on the students in regard to collaborative learning activities in this program. As we will argue in the next section, there is no reason to believe that the introduction of an ICT-based learning environment automatically promotes students' self-regulatory and collaborative learning skills. To the contrary, those skills probably need to be directly supported for many students if they are to succeed in such an environment. In trying to do this, drawing on the experiences and judgments of program participants seems more profitable than adhering to rigid, prescribed forms of strategy instruction (cf., Duffy, 2002).

Second, our program evaluation indicated that the integration of ICT into the different forms of instruction was not satisfactory. While the students seemed to use ICT as an integral part of their studying in the basis groups, the organization of the lectures and the seminars did not accord well with a full scale implementation of an ICT-based learning environment. For example, not many students seemed to be engaged in Web-based discussion and collaboration about issues raised in the lectures and the seminars, and the instructors apparently did not have enough competence in initiating and facilitating such discussion and collaboration. An additional challenge would thus be the creation of an ICT-based learning environment encompassing all forms of instruction, also implying increased competence among students and instructors in using that environment actively for constructive and collaborative learning.

Third, much of the instruction in the program could still be characterized as teacher-regulated knowledge transmission. Thus, student responsibility for knowledge construction consistent with the concept of problem-based learning was mainly restricted to the basis groups, while more traditional instruction under the indisputable leadership of the college teachers was still very much alive in the lectures and the seminars. The focus on traditional teacher-regulated lecturing and class instruction is part of a long-standing teacher education culture in Norway. In addition,

the participants may see this form of instruction as a kind of guarantee for passing the final examinations in the subjects. However, real changes in the direction of more student-regulated learning require not only attitudinal changes and, possibly, new evaluation practices. Increased competence in using teaching methods that cede control over the learning process from the instructors to the learners themselves is highly needed. No doubt, the aim to integrate student-regulated learning into all forms of instruction still represents a great challenge in this program.

Finally, the different forms of instruction seemed to be too loosely interconnected in this program. This problem is obviously related to the second and the third issue raised above. Thus, the different forms of instruction seemed to be located quite differently on a teacher-regulated–student-regulated continuum, as well as on a continuum representing the extent to which ICT was integrated into the instruction. Moreover, students' problem-based learning and project-oriented work in the basis groups, in a large degree involving the use of ICT, were often weakly related to what was going on in the largely teacher-regulated and ICT-free zones of lectures and seminars.

Of course, one limitation of our program evaluation is that it only covered the first year of the innovation project. Still, it suggests that the program had taken important steps away from the traditional teacher education culture described by Kvalbein (1998). In particular, this was related to the fact that the lion's share of studying was now taking place in the basis groups in the form of problem-based learning and project-related work involving the use of ICT. At the same time, however, this represented a great challenge in terms of providing better support for students' development of self-regulatory and collaborative learning skills. In addition, the activity in the basis groups seemed to represent a life of its own in relation to the rest of the study. It would certainly be in the innovative spirit of this program to involve both students and instructors in constructive collaboration to try to meet such challenges, not least because this can be seen as an important and authentic part of preparing students for their future work as teachers. At the same time, our evaluation of this program makes it pertinent to ask whether ICT-based learning environments can really measure up to the sanguine expectations that many technology-minded policymakers and educators seem to have.

CAN ICT DELIVER THE GOODS?

In the national curriculum for general teacher education, the point is being repeatedly made that student teachers must learn to use ICT for educational purposes, both in their own studies and as a preparation for their future teaching in schools. In addition, it is emphasized that student

teachers must acquire skills enabling them to plan, implement, and evaluate learning processes and teaching, and to work deliberately towards a goal, with these latter skills playing a prominent role in current models of self-regulated learning (e.g., Zimmerman, 1998, 2000).

The integration of ICT into educational practice has often been backed by arguments that ICT-based learning environments can promote students' knowledge construction and their development of higher-order thinking skills. For example, Web activities like the use of on-line databases and participation in on-line project-work have been referred to as forms of ICT that can foster higher-order thinking skills (Owston, 1997; van den Bosch & Bolluyt, 2001; Windschitl, 1998). However, other researchers have expressed doubt that the use of ICT by itself can foster higher-order thinking skills such as problem solving and critical thinking (e.g., Roschelle & Pea, 1999). In fact, Hartley and Bendixen (2001) recently argued that rather than *fostering* higher-order thinking skills, some uses of ICT for learning seem to *require* such skills. Noting that the skills necessary for effective ICT-based learning can be described as self-regulatory skills, these authors assumed that "learners' repertoire of strategies, like monitoring for understanding, and their willingness to invoke such strategies will dramatically affect their ability to manage the wealth of information found on the Internet" (p. 24). The idea is that because self-regulatory skills mediate effective learning in traditional environments (Boekaerts, Pintrich, & Zeidner, 2000), the advantage of good self-regulators will be exacerbated in demanding ICT-based environments involving a bombardment of images, sounds, texts, and links to related materials and concepts that are often used at the students' own discretion. Hartley and Bendixen (2001) cited some studies confirming that individual characteristics of students can impact their ability to succeed in ICT-based learning environments (Jonassen & Wang, 1993; Land & Greene, 2000; Lee & Lehman, 1993; Repman, Willer, & Lan, 1993; Shute, 1993). At the same time, they argued that much more research is needed before we know what it takes in terms of self-regulatory skills to utilize new technological tools effectively.

The somewhat heretical thought that the ability to benefit from ICT-based learning environments assumes good self-regulatory skills may certainly dampen some of the enthusiasm about what ICT can do for learners. However, it may also be seen as a challenge to those who design ICT-based learning environments to provide students with the necessary support to succeed in those environments (e.g., see Winn, 1998).

Recently, much research on ICT in education has focused on social interaction between students and between students and teachers, and some researchers have come to regard the social interaction taking place in ICT environments as more important than the interaction taking place between the individual and the technology (Koschmann, 1996). It has been argued that ICT-based environments are especially suited for promoting students' collaborative learning activities (e.g., Jarvela & Hakkinen,

2002; van den Bosch & Bolluyt, 2001). Thus, technology for "computer-mediated communication" (Garrison, Anderson, & Archer, 2000) or "computer-supported collaborative learning" (Dillenbourg, 1999; Koschmann, 1996; Lehtinen, Hakkarainen, Lipponen, Rahikainen, & Muukkonen, 1999) is designed to increase students' active participation in authentic learning and co-construction of knowledge, for example, by engaging them in e-mail exchanges, on-line discussions, news groups, or electronic conferences. However, several evaluations of attempts to promote collaborative learning through the use of ICT have indicated that this is not always met with success (e.g., Feilberg, 2001; Guzdial, 1997; Mason & Bacsich, 1998).

In the program at Østfold College, teachers presented assignments on the local computer conference (Webboard) stemming from their instruction in the seminars, and both students and teachers participated in online discussions about those assignments. However, not many (about 25) students contributed actively to discussions on the Webboard, and the contributions of the teachers often involved that they just presented the assignments and then, after a while, provided the correct answers. Thus, there did not really seem to be much active participation and co-construction of knowledge taking place.

Other studies confirm that ICT-based environments do not necessarily generate higher-order collaborative learning. Jarvela and Hakkinen (2002) recently found that only a small fraction of the discussions of student teachers during computer conferencing could be described as higher-level discussions. In this study, higher-level discussions were defined as theory-based discussions with mutual negotiations, also involving mutual or reciprocal perspective taking. In addition, the activity level of students seems to vary a lot, the teacher is often the most active participant, and discussions between students tend to die out rather quickly (cf., Strømsø, 2002). According to Carl Bereiter and Marlene Scardamalia (2000), this is the "dirty little secret" of many ICT-based learning environments. Indeed, this is not a trivial objection given the findings that effective collaborative learning depends on active participation by students, and the generation of multiple (often conflicting) interpretations and explanatory activities during problem solving (e.g., Dillenbourg, 1999; Wathen & Resnick, 1997; Weinberger, Fischer, & Mandl, 2001).

Also in regard to social interaction, some of the problems with ICT-based learning environments may be related to the fact that such environments require certain skills by the students at least as much as they foster them. Students must often learn how to become more effective collaborators and contributors in communities of learners (Brown, 1997; Meichenbaum & Biemiller, 1998), and ICT-based learning environments are probably no exception to this rule. It may therefore be essential that ICT-based environments are designed to support students' development of skills in social interaction, communication, and collaboration quite explic-

itly rather than expect the such skills will develop more or less automatically through the use of ICT (cf., Jarvala & Hakkinen, 2002; Winn, 1998). Our basis group observations at Østfold College gave us the impression of a strict division of work that did not serve the purpose of problem-based learning well. This impression was confirmed by the head of the project, who was concerned that students in the basis groups who mastered the technology well took responsibility for ICT-related tasks while other group members focused on other aspects of project work. This kind of co-operation is problematic because all group members are not given opportunities to make contributions and learn from the different aspects of project work. It should be noted that the students had received little advice regarding how they could work together on a project, and more explicit guidelines and process-related supervision would probably have supported a more adequate form of collaboration in this case.

In line with this, some researchers have given much emphasis to organizing and structuring group discussions in ICT-based environments. For example, research by Soller (2001) and by Weinberger et al. (2001) indicates that strong support for effective social interaction during electronic conferences leads to improved learning compared to conferences where the participants are left alone to organize their discussions. In Soller's (2001) work, the support for social interaction involves the construction of a sentence opener-based interface, requiring that the students begin each contribution with pre-specified phrases like "I think..." or "I disagree because..." Weinberger et al. (2001) refer to this kind of supported social interaction as "cued interaction", showing that the use of a "cued cooperation script" can influence individual knowledge transfer in a positive manner.

The point that we want to make here is that the use of ICT in higher education in general, or in teacher education in particular, does not in itself foster self-regulated learning or effective collaborative learning. If ICT-based environments are not carefully designed to support the development of self-regulatory and collaborative skills, we may risk that only students already possessing such skills may reap the potential benefits of the new technology, and that the good intentions of policymakers about improved learning for all students may suffer the inevitable disappointment that befalls most wishful thinking. However, the limited success of ICT-based learning environments may also be discussed in a broader sociocultural perspective to which we devote the final section of the chapter.

ICT IN THE CLASSROOM: A CLASH OF CULTURES?

There are certainly techno-enthusiasts among both policymakers and educators who expect great things regarding instructional innovation from the

introduction of technological tools and the creation of ICT-based learning environments in higher education. What they are saying, in effect, is that movement away from the traditional transmission-oriented pedagogy is made possible by replacing, or at least supplementing, teacher expertise with distributed network expertise (cf., Perelman, 1992). Evidence exists, moreover, that some teachers given sufficient resources and opportunities are able to discard the teaching-as-telling model and reinvent teaching and learning through the integration of ICT in their classrooms. For example, Garner and Gillingham (1998) documented that "adventuresome" teachers with adequate technological tools may promote meaningful collaborative student activity and a shift in expertise in the classroom, with students constructing knowledge and often becoming more knowledgeable than their teachers by accessing multiple sources of net-based information concerning particular topics.

These are success stories, however. Enthusiasm among educators for integrating ICT into their teaching is uneven, and efforts to understand lack of enthusiasm should probably take a broad sociocultural perspective.

Lack of enthusiasm for ICT-based learning environments despite the access to technological resources may easily be interpreted as a form of unreasonable personal reaction to a brave new world of high-tech teaching that can benefit the students as well as the society at large. However, this simplified view may overlook the cultural clash that may occur in classrooms when computers invade a cultural area where humans have always been much more valued than machines, and where personal relations between teachers and students have been honored more than anything else. In this perspective, resistance to the use of new technologies may be seen as a conflict over fundamental sociocultural values rather than as out-of-date attitudes on behalf of some teachers.

As Cuban (1997) has pointed out, the essence of teaching may be seen as building emotional and intellectual relationships between caring and knowledgeable adults and students to help students turn into caring and thoughtful citizens in a democracy. In fact, this reliance on human touch to fulfil the democratic purpose of schooling may be a sociocultural value that moves many persons into the fields of teaching and teacher education. Accordingly, teachers and teacher educators may see their roles less as mediators of new technologies and technological know-how and more as mediators of responsible, democratic citizenship. The intention to make classrooms mirror the highly productive, computerized workplace may thus raise a conflict concerning sociocultural issues to which many teachers take a countercultural stance based on more traditional values of schooling.

In addition, many teachers may not be ready to revise traditional beliefs in teacher authority and the desirability or even necessity to control student behavior and knowledge acquisition. As shown by Kvalbein (1998),

such beliefs in teacher authority and teacher responsibility for student learning are shared by many Norwegian student teachers.

In such a struggle over core values, lack of resources or competence among teachers seems less relevant, and the struggle cannot be won by buying more machines and developing new software, nor by offering teachers more courses on ICT and learning (Cuban, 1997). Thus, while the limited success of the teacher education program discussed in this chapter could hardly be explained by lack of resources, the teacher educators may not have seen their role as providing guided participation into the fast-moving, computerized world that technology-minded reformers seem to value. Moreover, as a result of such value conflicts, educators may well feel obliged to use ICT in their classrooms but not be willing to go any further than using the new technologies for old purposes (Garner & Gillingham, 1998).

Students entering teacher education may generally be more technology-oriented than teacher educators. One obvious reason for this is that there may be some kind of generation gap involved in this issue. Especially, in the innovation program that we studied, the student teachers may have felt quite enthusiastic about ICT. After all, they had decided to apply for admission at an institution where the use of ICT was strongly emphasized. However, even among those student teachers there may have been conflicts over the use of ICT in the classroom. While some student teachers in the program may have moved into teacher education primarily because of their human qualities and the opportunities to develop close human relationships with their students, others may have been more attracted to the idea of becoming some kind of cyberteacher in the future high-tech school. Our program evaluation indicated, moreover, that some students did not really involve themselves much in the ICT part of the program, while others developed high competence in using ICT. Thus, the effort to create an ICT-based learning environment may have resulted in a widening, rather than narrowing, of the gap between groups of student teachers who are confident in using the new technologies and those who aren't.

Providing access to the technological tools needed for creating an ICT-based learning environment, and, in addition, providing support for student self-regulatory and social-interactional skills, is probably not enough to really transform classroom teaching and learning. The main challenge may be to create ICT with a human face, that is, to integrate ICT into classroom teaching and learning without discarding the traditional values concerning close emotional and intellectual relationships between humans. While political and administrative efforts to change teacher education may certainly lead to changes on structural and organizational levels, more far-reaching changes in teacher education practice probably requires that historically and socioculturally embedded conceptions of both student teachers and teacher educators are taken into consideration. Some of these conceptions concern the essence of teaching, and they are

often formed early in life (Kennedy, 1997). Unless the dilemma of ICT and traditional sociocultural values of schooling are discussed seriously by policymakers and educators, high-quality collaborative learning in school facilitated by ICT may continue to be honored more in the breach than in the observance.

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CHAPTER 10

TEACHER DEVELOPMENT THROUGH COMMUNITIES OF LEARNING

Richard Walker

GUIDING VIGNETTE

Two teacher education students, Dave and Simon, are seated together at a computer in a Computer Access Centre at the University of Sydney. As they wait for the HENRE electronic learning environment to come up on the screen they engage in conversation.

Dave: Let's look at the Forum first to see if anyone has responded to our question about good internet sites on the self-efficacy and achievement topic.

Simon: OK, we got some great responses from our last question. It'd be good if someone has found an on line article on how self-efficacy theory can be utilized in the classroom by teachers.

Dave: Yeah, that'd be good. Let's check out the Archive just in case someone has downloaded something and hasn't got around to

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posting a message in the Forum yet. First though, I'd like to post a message in the Forum about how I think schools can make better use of computers for teaching students. Iman and Yuko are working on that topic and they posted some good issues on it in the Forum last week.

Simon: We'd better make some headway with our writing today as well...we've got to link our document to everyone else's pretty soon. I'll type in our latest points if you'll read them out for me.

Dave: It'll be great to see everyone else's work when it's all finished and to see all our contributions linked together.

Simon: Yeah, then anyone in the world 'll be able to see the whole thing on the net.

As the HENRE screen comes up Dave accesses the Forum and they start their collaborative tutorial work for a unit of study in educational psychology.

INTRODUCTION

The collaborative learning evident in the scenario at the beginning of this chapter takes place in the context of a community of learners who work together to create a public document available to community members, but also available to users of the internet more generally. Collaborative learning and communities of learners are important elements in sociocultural theories of learning and thinking. These theories, which have their origins in the work of Vygotsky and his colleagues, have become increasingly important in the educational psychology literature in the last decade (Derry, 1992; Greeno & The Middle-School Mathematics Through Applications Project Group, 1998; John-Steiner & Mahn, 1996; Palincsar, 1998; Rogoff, 1998; Stard, 1998). Sociocultural theories emphasize the social nature of learning and thinking, the embeddedness of learning and thinking in social, cultural, and historical contexts, as well as the distribution of learning and thinking across other persons, resources and artefacts. Sociocultural researchers concerned with school learning have explored student learning in collaborative contexts (Rogoff, 1998) and in classroom communities of learners (for instance, Brown, 1997). This theory and research provides an important body of knowledge for teacher educators to teach student teachers in order to develop their understanding of the social nature of learning and thinking.

Although there has been considerable recognition of the importance of sociocultural perspectives for understanding student learning in schools, it is only recently (Putnam & Borko, 2000) that the importance of these the-

ories for student teacher learning in teacher education programs have received acknowledged. Putnam and Borko (2000) argue that teacher education programs should reflect current sociocultural research findings, and while they are concerned primarily with situated and distributed cognition, and discourse communities, their argument is equally relevant for other sociocultural theories. It is important not only that student teachers are taught about sociocultural theories but that they are provided with opportunities to learn in environments that have been developed on the basis of sociocultural theory and research. Learning in socially oriented environments involving student collaboration and communities of learners provides student teachers with models they can attempt to emulate in their own teaching. Experiences of learning in such socially oriented environments may constitute students' first genuine and successful experiences of this kind of learning and as such provides them with a strong experiential foundation for their own teaching activities. Modelling by teacher educators of the kind of teaching they hope their students will enact is a very powerful way in which teacher educators can assist in the process of school reform (Griffin, 1999).

In this chapter learning communities developed for teacher education students at The University of Sydney are presented and research findings from these learning environments are discussed. Two of these learning communities were created through the implementation of an electronic learning environment, the Hypermedia Educational Networked Research Environment (HENRE). The HENRE learning environment was originally developed for use with undergraduate students taking an advanced educational psychology unit of study but was also subsequently implemented with Master of Education students taking a unit of study by distance education. The HENRE environment was therefore used to create learning communities with pre-service teacher education students and established teachers undertaking in-service educational study. The other learning communities discussed were created in Study One of the Master of Teaching program at The University of Sydney, a program that provides pre-service teacher education for graduate students. Study One is a major component of the Master of Teaching program, and as it involves common mass lectures and discrete seminar groups, it can be though of as a large community of learners which consists of a number of smaller learning communities. All of the learning communities examined in the chapter were developed with a multiple aims in mind, high amongst them being the provision for students of successful experiences of collaborative learning, and the provision of environments for learning explicitly developed from sociocultural theory and research.

The chapter begins by considering central aspects of sociocultural theories and their relevance for education, then moves to examine research into communities of learners in schools. Learning communities developed from the HENRE electronic learning environment are then described, the

evolution of the learning environment is explained, and research findings from these learning communities are presented. Finally, the operation of the learning communities in Study One of the Master of Teaching program is explained. Student perceptions of their collaborative experiences in these learning communities, including their resistance to collaborative learning, are given emphasis in considering research findings from all of the learning communities.

SOCIOCULTURAL THEORIES AND EDUCATION

While there are many sociocultural theories which derive from the initial work of the Russian psychologist Lev Vygotsky (for instance Rogoff, 1998; Greeno & The Middle-School Mathematics Through Applications Project Group, 1998; Engestrom, 1987), all share the following assumptions (John-Steiner & Mann, 1996): learning and cognitive development are considered to be fundamentally social and to have their origins in social processes; language and other symbol systems are considered to play a central role in learning and cognitive development; learning and cognitive development need to be considered in the historical context of the individual's own activities, as well as those of the community and culture more generally. Although sharing these common assumptions, some sociocultural researchers have emphasized the view that learning and cognitive development involve participation in, and enculturation into, the cultural practices of various communities (Rogoff, 1998), while others have focussed their attention on the aspects of the environment (Greeno & The Middle-School Mathematics Through Applications Project Group, 1998) that can facilitate or support learning and cognitive development, or alternatively constrain or limit these processes. Yet other researchers have developed sociocultural understanding of the activity systems (Engestrom, 1987) within which human beings learn, work, and otherwise conduct their affairs.

A central notion in the sociocultural approach which links learning and cognitive development, and which has therefore been of significance to educators, is that of the zone of proximal development. This notion is also important in that it provides a sociocultural explanation of the way in which processes, which exist at a social level, are transformed so that they become individual processes and attributes. The zone of proximal development has been defined (Vygotsky, 1978) as "the distance between the actual developmental level as determined through problem solving under adult guidance or in collaboration with more capable peers" (p. 86). Vygotsky and subsequent sociocultural theorists consider that it is through the creation of zones of proximal development that learners become able to successfully engage in activities, with the assistance of more capable oth-

ers, that they are unable to complete successfully by themselves. The cognitive scaffolding provided by more capable others when zones of proximal development are created allows learners to internalize or appropriate higher order thinking skills, such as problem solving and self-regulation. The process of the internalizing of thinking in the zone of proximal development is assisted by the mediating role played by cultural artefacts and tools, which may range in scope from symbol systems such as reading and writing to the use of computers. Cultural artefacts and tools also provide scaffolding and cognitive structuring for learners as they engage in activities for which they have low levels of competence and skill.

One direction in sociocultural research, the cultural practice approach (Rogoff, 1998; 1994), has extended upon Vygotsky's initial ideas concerning the zone of proximal development through investigation of the way in which individuals become established members of a community of practice. The term 'community of practice' refers to a sociocultural group that collaborates to achieve shared goals through particular practices and activities. Although these practices might vary considerably between different communities, such as the practices of various professional communities and those of lifestyle communities like surfers and motorcyclists, they are highly valued by their members and they provide the context (Miller & Goodnow, 1995) in which human learning and development takes place. The members of such communities vary greatly in their mastery of community practices, however the community provides the context in which the more established members assist the less established in their mastery of community practices through joint involvement and collaboration. As individuals are enculturated into the practices of a community their identity undergoes change (Rogoff, 1998) and they may likewise contribute to change in community practices. Schools and the classrooms within them constitute a particular kind of community of practice, often called a community of learners (Brown & Campione, 1994). In these communities of practice students are enculturated into academic practices in general, as well as the practices of specific academic disciplines.

The recognition of the social nature of learning and thinking, and the important role attributed to collaborative activity in the creation of zones of proximal development, has led sociocultural researchers (for instance, Rogoff, 1998) to investigate collaborative and cooperative learning. This has been an active area of sociocultural research since the late 1980's and early 1990's and has involved investigations into informal learning (Rogoff, 1998) as well as formal classroom learning (Moll & Whitmore, 1993). In all cases the achievement of a shared understanding, or intersubjectivity, and the development of collaborative goals for learning have been important features of these investigations. Although this research has generally supported sociocultural interpretations of collaborative learning (Rogoff, 1998) it cannot be said that collaborative learning always leads to improved learning outcomes. Where less competent learners are more persuasive or

socially dominant it is possible (Rogoff, 1998) that collaborative learning will lead to detrimental or regressive learning outcomes. Similar negative outcomes may also result when learners are resistant (Renshaw, 1998) to collaboration, or when collaborative goals are contested.

While collaborative learning has become important in the endeavors of sociocultural researchers concerned with understanding the nature of learning and thinking, it has also become more important as a teaching methodology in schools. This has come about as a consequence of several interconnected factors. First, more teachers have become aware of the benefits of collaborative and cooperative learning (Slavin, 1995) in recent years as they have been taught about this theory and research in their teacher education programs. These benefits, such as greater student enjoyment of learning and reduced anxiety, have led many teachers to consider collaboration to be a more natural and authentic method of learning when compared to the traditional emphasis on individual learning (Resnick, 1987) in schools. Second, collaborative learning and the ability to work cooperatively in teams and groups has become an important workplace competence, and schools are expected to develop this competence in students (Rowland, et al, 1996). The identification of core competencies considered important for the workplace, such as problem solving and cooperative learning, has been driven world wide by the need for business to become more competitive in a global economy. Consequently, these core competencies have become important outcomes not only of schooling but also of tertiary education. This has led to a greater emphasis on cooperative learning in both schools and tertiary education contexts so that, from the perspective of teacher education, it has become important that student teachers are taught not only the theory and research of collaborative and cooperative learning, but that they actually experience this kind of learning themselves.

The relationship between learning practices in schools and in the new workplaces of the late twentieth and early twenty first century has not passed unnoticed by sociocultural researchers. Gee, Hull, and Lankshear (1996) have analysed the way that management writers, as well as workplaces, have appropriated educational discourses concerning collaborative and cooperative learning to promote new workplace environments with flatter management structures in which workers are required to operate flexibly in teams with other workers. Gee et al (1996) also draw attention to the way that the discourse of sociocultural theorists who investigate learning and thinking from the perspective of educational psychology, such as Scardamalia and Bereiter (1993), have come into alignment with those of the exponents of management and workplace reform. Both groups of writers, they note, emphasize the importance of collaborative learning, active problem solving, learning in context, communities of practice, and the integration of technology.

SOCIOCULTURAL THEORIES AND COMMUNITIES OF LEARNERS

As indicated earlier in this chapter, learning communities are a particular type of community of practice, and as such they are important in sociocultural theories as they explain the way in which social processes are transformed to become individual processes and attributes. Learning communities are the cultural sites where learners are enculturated through collaborative activity into the academic practices of schools, classrooms, and disciplines.

The important place of learning communities in understanding learning and thinking in schools has meant that there have been a number of investigations of these communities in recent years. With the exception of the innovative school studied by Rogoff and her associates (Rogoff, 1994; Rogoff, Turkanis & Bartlett, 2001; Matusov, 1999), these learning communities have been designed and created in order to investigate sociocultural processes in classroom learning. The resulting 'design experiments' (Brown, 1992) have involved the explicit specification of the sociocultural design principles underlying the creation of these communities. They have also involved the engineering of all aspects of the classroom environment including learning and teaching, curriculum, assessment, and the integration of technology. Early investigations of learning communities were conducted by Scardamalia and Bereiter with their Computer Supported Intentional Learning Environments (1991; Scardamalia, Bereiter & Lamon, 1994), by Brown and her associates with their Fostering Communities of Learners projects (Brown, 1997; Brown, Ash, Rutherford, Nakagawa, Gordon, & Campione, 1993; Brown & Campione, 1990; 1994; Brown, Ellery, & Campione, 1998), and in the work of the Cognition and Technology Group at Vanderbilt University (1994, 1997). Although more recent investigations of learning communities have been reported by Riel (1998), Renshaw and Brown (1997), and Roth (1996; 1998) they have mostly not involved the same degree of classroom engineering as the earlier investigations of communities of learners.

Learning communities engineered for research purposes share a number of common features. First, they are student centred environments in which the main focus is on the active construction of knowledge through inquiry oriented learning activities. Teachers facilitate student learning in these environments through the structuring of learning goals, the scaffolding of learning experiences, and the selection and provision of appropriate resources and cultural artefacts. Second, student learning in them is collaborative in nature. This may be dyadic or small group learning, or it may involve formal cooperative activity structures, like the jigsaw method (for instance Brown, Ash, Rutherford, Nakagawa, Gordon, & Campione, 1993) which ensures that all students are engaged in cooperative activity and there is no opportunity for social loafing. Third, they are discourse

communities with a shared language for the discussion of learning activities, and an explicit emphasis on making community knowledge and thinking publicly available for all members. Finally, they emphasize the process of student learning so that formative assessment is given priority over traditional summative assessment. In addition to these features, the earlier learning community investigations also involved integrated technological components such as videodiscs (Cognition and Technology Group at Vanderbilt University, 1994; 1997) computers (Scardamalia, Bereiter & Lamon, 1994) and email (Brown, Ellery & Campione, 1998).

Two of the these learning communities, The Computer Supported Intentional Learning Environments (CSILE) and The Fostering Communities of Learners (FCL), provided models for the development of the communities discussed in the next section of the chapter and so are briefly described here. In the CSILE classrooms (Scardamalia & Bereiter, 1991; Scardamalia, Bereiter & Lamon, 1994), student dyads worked together on networked computers to answer questions they had set for themselves in curriculum topic areas. Networked computers allowed all students, working together in dyads and as a class group, to construct a public document from their question inspired inquiry activity. The public classroom document provided a basis for dyadic and whole class reflection, as well as for further inquiry. In addition to their substantive contributions to the document, students were able to write questions and comments on their work and the work of others. In the FCL classrooms (Brown, Ash, Rutherford, Nakagawa, Gordon & Campione, 1993; Brown & Campione, 1990; 1994; Brown, Ellery & Campione, 1998) students worked collaboratively to learn environmental science. Using the jigsaw method of cooperative learning students were organized into research groups with responsibility for researching and learning subtopics in environmental science, and later were required to teach what they had learned to other groups. Students were able to use email to obtain expert information and answers to questions as they researched their subtopic areas. Not all learning activities were group based in the FCL learning communities as some lessons involved whole class learning or reports from groups to the whole class.

It is worth noting, in concluding this section, that investigations (Rogoff, 1994; Rogoff, Turkanis & Bartlett, 2001; Matusov, 1999) have been made of an innovative learning community not created for research purposes. This innovative school, the OC school, in addition to the sociocultural features of learning communities discussed earlier, involves parents in classroom teaching and in the organization and running of the school. Taken together, the school and the engineered research communities of learners have a number of common attributes when compared to traditional educational institutions (Collins, 1998). Collins (1998), in commenting upon communities of learners, suggests that they are characterized by open access to new beliefs and ideas as well as the open dissemination of new ideas, decentralized authority and an egalitarian

structure, the fostering of argumentation and the resolution of disagreement through logic and evidence.

COMMUNITIES OF LEARNERS IN TEACHER EDUCATION AT THE UNIVERSITY OF SYDNEY

The learning communities created in the Faculty of Education at The University of Sydney reflect sociocultural theories of learning and thinking and have their origins in the engineered research communities of learners examined in the previous section, particularly the CSILE and FCL projects. As in these learning communities, the learning communities under consideration in this section of the chapter involved students in collaborative, inquiry oriented, student centred learning activities. They were developed to provide students with experiences of collaborative learning and involvement in a community of discourse. Electronic learning communities formed through the implementation of the Hypermedia Educational Networked Research Environment (HENRE) were specifically influenced by the CSILE research environments, while the learning communities created in Study One of the Master of Teaching program were modelled in significant ways on the FCL environments.

Electronic Learning Communities: HENRE

HENRE in Context

The HENRE learning environment was created in 1994 and was funded by a University of Sydney Quality Audit Grant for Innovative Teaching Projects. The learning environment was created, in the first instance, for undergraduate students undertaking an advanced educational psychology unit of study, *Contemporary Issues and Research in the Psychology of Learning and Teaching.* HENRE was first implemented in this unit of study in 1995, and was also implemented with modifications to its design and application in 1996 and 1997. In each of these years the educational psychology unit was taken by between forty and fifty students, most of who were teacher education students. In these implementations HENRE was not utilized as a fully virtual environment as some students in the unit attended the same tutorial classes and all attended a common lecture. The learning environment was also implemented in 1997 in a Master of Education unit of study. In the Master of Education unit, students were introduced to HENRE during an intensive two-day workshop and then used the environment for a period of eight weeks, in a fully virtual capacity, to participate in activities relating to web-design and building.

In the *Contemporary Issues and Research in the Psychology of Learning and Teaching* unit of study students attended a weekly program of lectures, which, over the three-year period under consideration, covered such topics as the self-system and academic achievement, school and teacher effectiveness, schooling and technology, and teacher expectancies. Student tutorial work in these years was based on collaborative learning in the HENRE environment. In their tutorials, student dyads working in the HENRE environment set themselves questions on the lecture topics to research. Students were able to use the resources of the internet, and the resources of HENRE in the first implementation, to research their questions, and were encouraged to use the HENRE environment to engage in collaborative discussion and the sharing of resources. Each student dyad was required to produce a written answer to their question, and the resulting textual documents were subsequently publishing on the World Wide Web as an integrated document. Collaborative learning in the unit of study was also emphasized through the assessment scheme adopted. Collaborative tutorial work was worth 40% of unit marks, and an individual essay and a take home exam were both worth 30% respectively. Although the exact composition of the marks allocated to collaborative tutorial work varied over the three years, a substantial proportion were allocated to peer assessment. Additionally, marks were allocated in some years to student reflection on their learning in HENRE, to participation in the HENRE on-line community, and to student linking of their work to the work of other dyads.

The HENRE Electronic Environment

The HENRE environment was conceptualized (Lambert, 1999; Walker & Lambert, 1997) as a technological artefact with affordances to support collaborative student research activities and the creation of a collaborative World Wide Web document. The environment was designed to support both the collaborative activities of the whole community of learners and the joint activities of student dyads. Community collaborative activity was supported by the provision of a public space where all members could share information, engage in discussion and reflection, and provide feedback to each other concerning their work. Community collaborative activity was also supported by email capabilities and by a research question matrix which indicated the topic each dyad was researching. Dyadic collaborative activity was supported by the provision of a workspace for document creation, access to the community public space, and email capabilities including links to academic staff teaching in the unit of study. The research activities of each student dyad were supported by links to library catalogues, ejournals and relevant listserve groups.

Electronic support for collaborative student activity was conceptualized (Lambert, 1999; Walker & Lambert, 1997) as providing the context for the creation of multiple zones of proximal development with each student par-

ticipating in community activities at a personally appropriate level. Support for collaborative community activity was also conceived as providing the context for the development of a community of discourse concerning student research activities and the creation of collaborative World Wide Web document. Student activity in the HENRE environment was considered to be authentic in that students were engaged in both socially and personally relevant academic practices. Socially, students were engaged in the creation of a collaborative document available to other users of the Internet, while personally they were engaged in research activities they had chosen for themselves. The collaborative document created also provided community members themselves with a representation of the shared activity, thinking, and knowledge of the community.

The Evolution of HENRE

As indicated earlier, the first version of HENRE, and its implementation, was modelled to some extent on the CSILE learning environment (Scardamalia, Bereiter, & Lamon, 1994). However, HENRE extended beyond the original CSILE environment as it provided a web-based collaborative learning environment which allowed student researchers to access the resources of the internet; the activities of student researchers in CSILE, on the other hand, were limited to the functionalities of the networked computers involved. The HENRE environment was also considerably more technically advanced owing to the rapid developments in computer and WWW technology, which had occurred since the original CSILE project. The first HENRE environment was itself modified in 1996 in response to student feedback and computer logged information concerning the extent of collaborative student activity in the environment.

In the first version of HENRE student dyads had their own workspaces for word processing and their own workspace tools. These included the capacity to email other dyads, as well as the academic staff members lecturing and tutoring in the unit of study. They also included access to a matrix, which indicated the research topics various dyads were working on, a shared resources bin or archive where students could download resources from the Internet, and a shared archive of resources. Owing to the limited educational psychology resources available on the Internet at the time of this first version, archived resources were made available to students through the scanning of relevant book chapters and journal articles. These could be searched using a key word search procedure, thus providing a fall back position in case students were not able to find any resources of relevance to their topic. Student dyads also had access to a community discussion Forum as well as a variety of other resources including online library catalogues, e-journals, discussion groups, and structured links to key WWW sites and the resources of the WWW.

The discussion Forum was the shared community discussion space and was based on a listserve model of functioning. Comments posted in the Forum could be read and answered by anyone in the HENRE environment. This was the place where notices about useful WWW sites, resources that might have been placed in the shared archive, and problems, help, suggestions, grievances, and jokes could be posted. The Forum was the feature of the environment considered most likely to foster a community of discourse.

As the HENRE environment was designed to foster collaboration between student dyads and community collaboration on an integrated WWW publication, it was important that dyadic work groups were aware of the research activities being undertaken by other dyads. This process was facilitated by the research question matrix, which showed relationships between the research topic areas and the participating dyadic work groups. The work groups were represented in the matrix as mail links to that group so that students could easily see how their work was connected to the work of other dyads.

The second version of HENRE was created in 1996 in response to research data, discussed in the next section of the chapter, gathered from the 1995 implementation. There were four main differences between the first and second versions of HENRE. First, the document creation functionalities and html authoring capacities of the environment were integrated into the workspace areas and an evolutionary approach to dyadic work group research and publication was supported. This meant that workgroup dyads were able to create their own on-line textual artefacts as they researched their topics. Additionally, they were able to create hyperlinks between their work and the work of other dyadic work groups (and other WWW resources wherever possible). Second, the geography of the discussion Forum was changed so that learners had to pass through it as they entered their workspaces. This meant that there was a greater likelihood that students would read and respond to each other's messages. Third, in this version email could be accessed through both a generic mail form and a database output. Last, the resource archive of scanned texts and journal articles was removed from the environment. This reflected the greater volume of information available on the Internet by this time. This version of HENRE was also the one implemented in 1997.

Collaborative Learning in HENRE

During the three years of the implementation of HENRE under consideration in this chapter, a considerable amount of research data (Lambert, 1999; Walker & Lambert, 1996a; Walker & Lambert, 1996b; Walker & Lambert, 1997) concerning student collaborative learning in the environment

was collected. Student perceptions of their collaborative experiences were obtained through interviews, questionnaires, open-ended questions, and reflective journals. Objective data concerning the nature and extent of collaborative activity in the HENRE environment were collected through computer generated activity logs, which recorded student activity in the learning environment. The computer logged messages sent to the Forum and email messages sent between student dyads and all email communications in HENRE were archived.

Generally speaking, the research information accumulated over three years indicated that most students enjoyed working collaboratively in the HENRE environment. Nearly all students indicated at the end of the unit each year that they had appreciated the opportunity to use HENRE to access the WWW and to develop an awareness of the research potential of the WWW; they were generally positive about their experience of collaborative learning and appreciated the opportunity to work on a topic of their choice in tutorials. Computer logged information showed that collaborative student activity increased over the three-year period in response to changes made to the nature of the environment.

More specifically, students perceived their collaborative learning in HENRE to be fun and personally advantageous since working with a colleague enhanced their confidence and provided support in an unfamiliar and, at times, difficult learning environment. Many interviewees made responses expressing these sentiments. One such interviewee, a teacher education student committed to cooperative learning methods, felt that her collaborative experience was "great" as she and her partner had been able to set their work goals together effectively and had communicated well. This student enjoyed the experience of collaborative writing but expressed the view that it "required a lot of self-confidence."

Questionnaire information provided similar feedback concerning collaborative learning in HENRE. The following statements are typical of the questionnaire responses:

- "I found collaboration a positive experience, i.e., sharing the workload and the frustrations, and also the fun!"
- "Other groups helped to raise different points that we did not originally contemplate. Links made it possible to focus our thoughts, without worrying and explaining everything."
- "Collaboration was good in terms of pooling knowledge etc."
- "As previously mentioned, a lot of frustration is involved and this frustration or misery really does love company. Seriously, the workload and all that is involved is shared and this often makes the work more enjoyable."
- "Working in pair (sic) gave us a different viewpoint other than our own. It opened us up to many new ideas and concepts we may not have necessarily taken into consideration had we been working indi-

vidually. It also gave us an added sense of responsibility being responsible for not only our own work, but that of our partner."

Open-ended questions also provided similar feedback, such as the following:

- "Enjoyed working with someone else. Made it more motivating to help to do a good job. Being paired with someone else who had a high standard in terms of being computer literate motivated me, who wasn't to do well in contribute (sic)."
- "Excellent-I found I could relate to this as in the future this will be the way to go. Also reflects what employers expect of employees."
- "Other groups assistance helped make our project a lot easier."
- "I enjoyed this very much. A very new and different way of learning. Thank you."
- "Good. Because you can help and learn from others."
- "A new experience—and lots of fun."

Computer generated activity logs provided an interesting comparison of collaborative activity across the three years of the implementation of HENRE. Examination of student use of the discussion Forum and the sending of email messages, two strong indicators of collaborative activity in the electronic environment (Lambert, 1999), showed that collaborative activity was generally low in the 1995 implementation but increased across the 1996 and 1997 implementations. In 1995 the Forum was used only for the posting of ten messages, and these messages were not much accessed by other student dyads, with an average of 36% of student dyads reading them. This may have been due, to some extent, to the technical problems of Internet access experienced by the Faculty of Education in the early weeks of the course. In 1996, however, after the geography of the Forum had been changed so that entry into HENRE was impossible without passing through the Forum, the number of messages posted in the Forum increased only to sixteen. These messages were, however, read by a greater number of other student dyadic work groups (on average 85% of student work groups read these messages). In 1997, after changes to tutorial assessment requirements, fifty-four messages were posted in the Forum and they were read, on average, by fifty percent of student work groups. Some messages were accessed much more than others and the messages given less attention were those that were part of an on going discussion (suggesting that these messages were not accessed because others were not interested in the discussion thread).

Examination of archived email messages showed a similar pattern of electronic collaborative activity. The results of this computer generated information strongly suggest that collaborative activity in the learning environment was, as suggested by sociocultural theory, influenced by contex-

tual factors and by the way these factors influenced the motives and goals of participants. Changes to the placement of the Forum in the 1996 version of HENRE did lead to greater student awareness of discussion postings but did not automatically enhance electronic collaborative activity. Assessment changes also clearly changed student collaborative goals and motives and led to greater use of the collaborative affordances of the learning environment.

The impact of contextual and context-related factors on collaborative activity in HENRE was even more apparent when a comparison was made (Lambert, 1999; Walker & Lambert, 1997) of the computer records of Forum usage and email messages between the fully virtual implementation with Master of Education students and the implementations of HENRE with advanced educational psychology students. In the former context, student communication, contact, and collaboration were possible only through HENRE. In this context two hundred and twelve messages were posted in the Forum and they were read, on average, by 82% of the participants of the HENRE community. Participants in the virtual environment were more likely to seek support from the electronic community than to send private messages requesting assistance or offering advice. Assessment goals and motives were also implicated in collaborative activity in this context, since collaborative activity was an assessment component in this unit of study as well. The assessment components of the undergraduate and Masters units were similar however, and consequently the greater collaborative activity in the Masters unit cannot be attributed to assessment factors alone.

Resistance to Collaborative Learning in HENRE

Students involved in the various undergraduate implementations of HENRE, as suggested by the research information discussed above, seemed to enjoy the collaborative affordances offered by HENRE. This is not to suggest, however, that no resistance to collaborative learning in HENRE was evident from the interview and questionnaire information collected. Identifiable areas of resistance were clearly evident in these data; nevertheless, with the exception of the two profiles of resistance discussed below, this resistance appeared to be relatively moderate. The areas of resistance identified were related, as suggested by sociocultural theories, to contextual factors of HENRE and to the goals, motives and affect of the participants in the learning environment. The main areas of resistance to collaborative learning in HENRE were: time pressures and constraints, assessment requirements, effort required to master the HENRE environment, lack of familiarity with self directed learning contexts, lack of a more structured introduction to HENRE in early tutorials, frustration associated

with using HENRE and technology in general, lack of confidence in using computers, and dyadic partnership problems.

Interviews and questionnaires supported the identification of these areas of resistance, as is evident in the following responses:

- "We needed more teaching and modelling in our introduction to HENRE."
- "Once I got used to it, it was alright. But I found that I felt like it took precious time away from the/my project."
- "It was fun, however it was stressful at times not knowing exactly what was expected of us so it was difficult to collaborate a lot when trying to get on with your own assignment."
- "Too much emphasis on quality of collaboration rather than quantity."
- "Was different, hard environment but wasted time when concentrating on your WWW project. Hard to know what was most important."
- "Wasn't sufficient time for the concept of collaborative learning to be grasped."

While these interview and questionnaire responses indicated some individual resistance to HENRE, examination of computer generated activity logs and archived email information suggested that the strongest resistance to electronic collaboration arose from the fact that the undergraduate utilization of HENRE was not of a virtual kind. As the undergraduate students met in tutorial groups, attended a common lecture in the advanced educational psychology unit, and attended the same campus, there were many opportunities for them to engage in collaborative activity independently of HENRE. Viewed from this perspective, HENRE did not provide an authentic affordance for collaborative activity and the various assessment modifications made during successive implementations attempted to create electronic collaboration when face-to-face collaboration and communication may have been simpler, easier, and more natural. This interpretation is supported by the comparison, discussed in the previous section of the chapter, of computer-generated data from the Master of Education implementation of HENRE and the undergraduate implementations. This interpretation of the computer-generated information is also supported by the following undergraduate interview and questionnaire responses:

- "No collaboration through the computer, if we wanted to know something we asked the people."
- "I think that the course lost the whole point of being collaborative, especially in the tut time."

- "Was good, however, most, students that I discussed with etc were in my class. Verbal, rather than discussion through the computer, was more convenient."

Profiles of Resistance to Collaborative Learning in HENRE

Most resistance to collaborative learning in HENRE seemed to be relatively moderate in degree, particularly in the context of other positive comments made by the same people concerning their experience of learning in HENRE. This relatively mild degree of resistance may have been, however, an artefact of methods of data collection, which did not allow the probing of question responses. Interview methods did allow such sustained questioning and two students revealed a high degree of resistance to learning in HENRE in interviews conducted in 1995. The following profiles of Jane and Jennifer explain the reasons for their resistance to collaboration, and the form of their resistance.

Jane

This mature age student (mid 40's) lived on Sydney's northern beaches, was married to a businessman and had several children, one of whom had Attention Deficit Disorder. She had worked for a number of years in the type setting industry where she had to adapt to constant technological change. She was proficient in the use of computers for word processing purposes. Jane was enrolled in the Degree of Bachelor of Education and was planning to do honours in education in the next year. During the interview it emerged that she did not like the educational psychology unit of study in which she had been advised to enrol because was undertaking an honours degree. Jane felt that the lectures were dry and uninteresting, lectures and tutorials were not connected and it "was the most unpleasant course that she had ever taken." In particular she did not like working in HENRE and felt that HENRE was confusing and time consuming and that collaboration did not work at all. She indicated that she had never liked group work and preferred to work individually She also felt that she had been let down by her work partner. Jane was very angry at the course and felt that it had "destroyed her self-confidence and her faith in her ability to learn." Jane engaged with HENRE to the minimum extent possible, did her writing at home and used the library for her research.

Jennifer

This mature age student (40 yrs) lived in the inner city of Sydney with her young teenage son. She was enrolled in the degree of Bachelor of Education and was also planning to do honours in education in the next year.

She loved the idea of the new technologies. She loved working in HENRE and found it "to be fun and totally reinforcing." Jennifer felt that cooperative learning was good, but that her own experience of schooling had left her with strong competitive drives and a preference for individual work. She felt that her work partner did not understand what was required of tutorial work in HENRE and that collaboration did not work for them. Jennifer used HENRE to research and produce her own individual tutorial document.

HENRE: Concluding Comments

Generally speaking, the learning communities developed from the HENRE environment were successful in providing students with positive experiences of collaborative learning. The collaborative environment was mostly seen by students as an exciting and interesting place in which to conduct their inquiry activities, although several students actively resisted collaboration. The environment, when not operating as a virtual community, was less successful though in creating a discourse community with high levels of electronic social interaction. Community discourse levels were high in the virtual learning community but were manipulated to some extent by assessment practices in the non-virtual learning communities. Although not anticipated at the time of development of the HENRE environment, it now seems apparent that the extent of discourse and social interaction in an electronic community of learners would be influenced by the opportunities the learners have to interact with each other in person.

COMMUNITIES OF LEARNERS IN STUDY ONE OF THE MASTER OF TEACHING PROGRAM

Study One of the Master of Teaching Program in Context

The Master of Teaching program was developed in 1995 to reflect current best practice in teacher education (Ewing & Smith, 2001; Walker, 1996) and to replace a one year pre-service postgraduate Diploma in Education. The Master of Teaching program is a two-year pre-service teacher education degree for graduate students and is organized into five phases, which extend over a period of eighteen months. During this time students undertake two teaching practices, and following the completion of eighteen months of coursework, they teach as fully qualified teachers in an intern capacity for a one semester period of eleven weeks. The coursework program is divided into two main components, Study One and Study Two.

Study One is an interdisciplinary, inquiry oriented and case-based component and engages students with issues beyond the teaching of their own discipline or speciality. Study Two is concerned with educating student teachers in the methods and curricula of their chosen speciality. The Program has been very successful and each year attracts approximately two hundred and fifty students. These students attend common mass lectures, but are organized into eleven Study One seminar groups for the eighteen months of the program. Seminar groups operate as discrete learning communities, but the entire Study One cohort can be considered a learning community in view of common student attendance at lectures and common involvement in other Study One activities.

Communities of learners in Study One

The learning communities in Study One were to some extent modelled on Brown and associates (Brown, 1997; Brown, Ash, Rutherford, Nakagawa, Gordon, and Campione, 1993; Brown & Campione, 1990; 1994). Fostering Communities of Learners research. As in the FCL communities, students in Study One seminars are organized into expert groups, according to the jigsaw collaborative learning method. This takes place in their first Study One seminar session in which they select topics concerning communication and teaching to investigate. Subsequently, these small collaborative groups report on their deliberations to their seminar group and lead discussion on the issues raised. Over the eighteen month duration of Study One Master of Teaching students continue working in collaborative small groups to investigate varying issues relating to teacher education and subsequently report on these investigations to the seminar group. In this situation, as all students are actively involved in small group activities and in the presentations and discussions which follow, they develop common personal goals and shared understandings and quickly come to view their fellow students as collaborators in the process of becoming a teacher. Furthermore, they quickly come to know each other and an atmosphere of trust and respect is created so that students are able to collaboratively develop their philosophies of education and teaching, to share their concerns about such activities as the teaching practicum, to accept constructive advice and feedback concerning their teaching, and to engage in frank discussions of often controversial educational issues. Study One seminar groups are learning communities in the widest sense in that they provide students with social and emotional support as well as support for their learning activities.

The activities of Study One seminar groups are supported by a concurrent lecture series, which provides students with professional, theoretical, and research frameworks related to their seminar activities. In the five phases of Study One seminar groups engage in a variety of inquiry oriented activity: in the first phase students are provided with stimulus infor-

mation as a basis for inquiry into such topics as learning, the curriculum, and the social and political context of schooling; in the second phase they read cases written by practicing teachers and use these as a basis for group investigations; in the third phase students follow a conference writing approach to the writing of their own teaching cases following their first teaching practicum; in the fourth phase students in small groups investigate a topic of their own choosing concerning the relationship of the school and the community, while in the final phase they learn the skills of action research so that they can investigate their own teaching practice during the teaching internship. While assessment in each of these phases varies, with several assessment tasks undertaken individually and one group assessed task, all tasks are criterion reference assessed.

The emphasis on student inquiry and collaboration creates a strong sense of autonomy and mastery in students with the result that they value their seminar learning and view the Study One program very positively. The autonomy and choice in Study One is well suited to students who have already obtained an undergraduate degree and it contributes to a greater sense of independence and initiative amongst the students in the program. In the seven years since the initial intake, it has not been uncommon for the students to organize their own additional learning experiences on topics and issues they consider to be of special interest and importance to them. Study One seminar groups also provide important support for students from non-English speaking backgrounds who are able to improve their English, as well as their teaching skills, in a supportive context. The sense of autonomy and support evident in Study One seminar groups is to some extent due to the criterion-referenced assessment, which supports collaboration over competition. Since its inception the great majority of students despite their varied ages, disciplinary and cultural backgrounds, and various countries of birth have very well received the Study One program.

Nevertheless, while all students acknowledge the benefits of being a part of a learning community, not all express support for collaborative learning. A small proportion of students initially resent and resist collaboration because they prefer to work and learn individually; they consider collaborative learning to be a hindrance. The great majority of these students eventually come to appreciate the advantages of collaborative learning but a small number of them struggle with this form of learning. One such student kept a diary of his reflections on his progress through the first eight months of the degree. The diary reveals that while he eventually acknowledged that collaborative learning was beneficial in some ways, for instance in developing self-confidence and listening skills, he struggled intellectually with the whole notion of collaborative learning and considered it a constraint on his individuality and akin to running in a three legged race.

AN OVERALL CONCLUSION

The communities of learning described in this chapter have generally provided teacher education students with successful experiences of collaborative learning. They have also provided models for these students of learning environments developed to reflect sociocultural theories of learning and thinking. The creation and modelling of such environments is of particular importance in teacher education programs if beginning teachers are to be expected to put into practice the sociocultural theories they have been taught. The communities of learning described in the chapter indicate that it is possible to create environments where both large and smaller numbers of tertiary students are able to learn through collaboration and inquiry.

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